

*Wm. L. Linn*

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NO. VII.—JUNE, 1849.

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ART. I.—1. *The Zoöist for 1848.* London.

2. *Journal du Magnétisme: Quatrième Année.* Paris. 1848.

3. *Blätter aus Prevorst.* Stuttgart. 1833–39.

It is by no means the purpose of this article to enter into an extensive and penetrating criticism of the details of Mesmerism. Its object is not nearly so difficult of execution. It simply proposes to consider how far the phenomena of zoö-magnetism do really deserve the serious investigation of inductive science; to convey to such readers as may not yet have attended to the subject, even as a literary appearance, some vivid conceptions concerning the sorts of things asserted by mesmeric authors; to pronounce a short, certainly not an uncharitable, and if possible a just, scientific judgment regarding the general character of the statements of the science; and to bring the universally accredited fact of the mere mesmeric sleep or trance into harmony with the system of Nature, so far as that system seems to be understood.

It is well known to the students of modern British literature that Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the “inspired charity-boy” of Charles Lamb, a poet of deep-going insight and most musical expression in youth, a well read and original metaphysician in manhood, an agonizing divine in old age, and altogether one of the most lustrous of modern spirits, bestowed a great deal of study on the subject now approached. It is duly recorded in a note to Southey’s *Life of Wesley*, that, after having considered the question in all the aspects in which it had then been presented, and that during the course of nine years, he could not conscientiously decide either for or against the claims

of Mesmerism. It is worthy of notice, however that the word *Mesmerism* stood in the vocabulary of that time as the sign of nothing more nor less than the apparent transference of one species of sensibility to the organ of another on one hand, and the faculty of farseeing on the other; an equivalent which is far from sufficient for the symbol at this time of day. Furthermore, Coleridge did undeniably study the evidence in favor of such Mesmerism from an unwarrantable point of view. For example, he examined the testimony for the so-called fact of farseeing in inseparable connection with the theory usually advanced in explanation of it; being of the prejudged opinion that "nothing less than such an hypothesis would be adequate to the satisfactory explanation of the facts." This was to investigate the grounds on which an asserted thing was made to rest, but it was to investigate them with an intellect predisposed against the only conceivable idea of the possible fact, and that was to investigate them with an intellect predisposed against the very possibility of the asserted fact itself. Yet the evidences of Mesmerism were able to bear the scrutiny of this searching and not uncolored eye: They were "too strong and consentaneous for a candid mind to be satisfied of its falsehood, or its solvability on the supposition of imposture or coincidence; too fugacious and unfixable to support any theory that supposes the always potential and, under certain conditions and circumstances, occasionally actual existence of a corresponding faculty (of farseeing, inseeing, foreseeing, &c.,) in the human soul." The parenthesis in the last sentence is our own.

Every body must be aware, of course, that the inquiries of so hungry and thirsting a student as Coleridge always was could not consist in attendance upon ever so large a number of stray lectures or *séances*, or the perusal of the half-literary pamphlets and paragraphs that constitute the staple of mesmeric literature in Great Britain and America, or a professional glance through the notorious misreport of the French academicians. "Nine years," says he, "has the subject of Zoö-magnetism been before me. I have traced it historically; have collected a mass of documents in French, German, and Italian, and from the Latinists of the sixteenth century; have never neglected an opportunity of questioning eye-witnesses (as Tieck, Treviranus, De Prati, Meyer, and others of literary or medical celebrity); and I remain where I was, and where the first perusal of Klug's work had left me, without having advanced an inch backward or forward." Thus and after

such a career of bookreading, this "most spacious of modern intellects," to repeat the epithet applied to him by Thomas de Quincey, could neither bring himself to accept, nor suffer himself to reject the statements of the higher order of experimentalists and observers in this dim recess. Yet he was a scholar peculiarly qualified to give a righteous judgment in so complicated a controversy. He had wrestled with almost every science one after the other, like the illustrious Goethe, and not let them go without leaving their blessings behind them. He was a good physiologist, as well as familiar with all the points of view from which the higher phenomena of humanity can be contemplated. His late posthumous work on the Idea of Life, indeed, exemplifies the most singular familiarity with the details of Natural History, Physiology, and Physics; and it is that unspeakable familiarity which consists, not in remembering scientific things by rote, but in knowing them by heart. Above all, he was a truly great master in Methodology, or the science whose laws are the rules of scientific discovery; for one may venture to express the matured opinion, that the dissertation, prefixed to the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*, approves our present hero the greatest English writer on Method since Francis Bacon published his *Instauration* and his *Organon*. Nor needs any body be ashamed to profess himself afraid to speak with ridicule or indifference of a vast fabric of statements before which a sage so good, so learned, so penetrating, so catholic, and so candid as Coleridge was obliged to pause in anxious doubt, after nine long years of research.

This example, however, contains another and a very different lesson. What a contrast does this long-suffering skepticism present to the easy credulity of the majority of proselytes! Here a divine, there a physician, and here a man of science, are seen eagerly embracing the doctrine and the allegations of the disciples of Mesmer, without any thing worthy of the name of methodical investigation; but because they, the allegations and the doctrine, appear to pass at once into easy consonation with this or that crotchet of their own. The neophyte of the New Jerusalem perceives at a glance that Mesmerism is unconsciously though essentially Swedenborgian, and therefore Mesmerism is true or very easily proved to be so: The homœopathist soon observes that mesmeric cures are all reducible under the rule of Like to Like, and therefore they are undeniable: The disciple of Schelling is delighted to



notice that the trance is an emphatic illustration of the duality of things, and therefore there is no mistake about it! Far be it from us, however, to insinuate that the dualistic scheme of the Universe, Homœopathy, and Swedenborgianism are nothing but the crotchets of the visionary: nay, we revere the mighty spirits, who are represented and perpetuated by these outward embodiments of their potent lives, with a kind and a degree of reverence which can be shared only by the St. Pauls, the Keplers, and the Aristotles of the world. But there are men about the purlieus of the Church and the School, in all ages, in and by whom things the most sacred, the most beautiful, and the most important for their truth are degraded into crotchets and minims: and it is of such characters alone that we have dared to speak with some severity in the present paragraph. Nor is such severity unwarrantable, for the formation of a candid scientific judgment concerning new presentations is one of the most sacred duties of the scholar and the student.

But what shall be said of the levity with which so many of the laity have espoused the cause of Mesmer! We have known such light-hearted inquirers, after having sped their shaftlings of ridicule at some Dupotet or Spencer Hall of a morning, attend a peripatetic lecture in the evening; and no sooner have they seen a fellow solidified in some grotesque attitude upon the platform, or heard his head played upon like an instrument, or wondered at his writhing and wriggling in vain towards a heap of money the audience has laid upon the table for his reward if he can reach it, than they have hastened home with exultation in the character of what they call Believers in Mesmerism. Then there follows a crowd of the most unmeaning experiments, without a plan and without a result, without an initiative and without an aim. Every other chair in a hundred drawing-rooms is occupied by a passive subject, and every other by an operator more passive still in reality, for he is only one of fifty straws in the breath of a paltry popular delirium. The young disciples soon proceed, of course, like Gratiano in the play, to "talk an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice"; and the city is not long of swarming with the frivolous convertites of the new science:—

So fools rush in where angels fear to tread!

To rise, however, to things and thoughts more easily asso-

ciated with the venerable name of Coleridge, it is a significant circumstance of Mesmerism that the celebrated Strauss, a man of unquestionable erudition, of the most laborious habits of study, of singular coherence of thought, and the most remarkable system-builder of his age, has not only considered but accepted the science. The people of Christendom are becoming aware that Strauss has shown himself, in his far-famed *Life of Jesus*, to be incomparably the most formidable opponent that has ever withstood the popular Christianity of Europe and America. That singular work has agitated many of the best intellects in the world to their very foundations, and moved many of the best hearts to their most sacred depths. Now, one may reject the mythological hypothesis of the history and the present phenomena of Christianity in the world, as it is expounded in the wonderful performance at present referred to; but nobody can blind himself to the fact that one of its very strongest points, especially for the Anglo-Saxon mind, resides in the use the ingenious author is able to make of his reception of the higher phenomena of zoö-magnetism. It is, indeed, an incidental and supplemental, rather than a systematic one; but not the less important in a practical point of view on that account. If it be true that the paltry, conscious, intentional Mesmerist of to-day can make water taste like any wine he chooses to his subject guests; and if analogy demands the consequent possibility of making water look, smell, and touch like any such wine, so as to become veritable wine so far as the spell-bound patients are concerned; what is to become of the miracle at the marriage in Cana of Galilee? If the mesmerized do actually heal diseases without material means, or with only such amulets as a little clay lifted from the ground and tempered with spittle; if they can see athwart the earth and look on their antipodes; if they can prophesy the future, in ever so limited a range; if they ever become so intimately coadunated with such as are put in communion with them, that they share the memories of their unbosomed victims, and read off all that they have suffered and done; if they behold visions of the dead and the angelic; if the mesmerizer can become invisible to them at his will; in fine, if they sometimes rise superior to the centred force of gravity itself, and ascend into the bosom of the air: who shall find courage to deny that the supernaturalities of Old and New Testament life may possibly, if not probably, have been a manifold and normal manifesta-

tion of certain noble faculties native to humanity ; faculties overlaid by the specific functionalities of every other nation than the peculiar people of God, and among them awakened into full activity only in their highest men and women ; faculties, the morbid and impotent struggle of which towards development has been actually going on in almost every age and country, and can be witnessed by the curious in nearly every district of the world to-morrow or the next day ; faculties, in a word, which are destined to add a new glory to life with their completed efflorescence, in those happy æons in which the Race shall be drawing near its first or terrestrial goal ! It is true that all the things contained in this long sentence cannot be attributed to any one author, either mesmeric or theological ; and they are neither to be inculcated nor repudiated at present. They have been brought together, in this instance, solely for the purpose of setting forth the great importance of a thorough investigation of the so-called science of Mesmerism, whether the inquiry is to end in the utter rejection, the unqualified acceptance, or the critical modification of its claims. Nor is this importance not deeply felt in quarters where the impregnability of the popular Christianity is a thing of far greater moment than it is with us ; for Tholuck of Halle, perhaps the greatest of the theologians now belonging to the school of orthodox protestantism, has not only become convinced of the general truth of Animal Magnetism, but he has actually proceeded to speculate and write upon it in his own way, in order to confront and do battle with the positions of such as Strauss. On the other hand, there is the case of Professor Bush. That ingenious interpreter, dissatisfied with the common way of conceiving of the resurrection of the dead, and holding by the Bible as the sole and sacred oracle on the subject, proceeded to reinvestigate the scriptural phraseology concerning it. These inquiries into the true meaning of the word put for Resurrection in the New Testament soon became an elaborate examination of all the language held, in Testaments new and old, anent the nature of man. The conclusion at which our philologist arrived, after a careful comparison of instances, was nothing less than the proposition that is implicitly, if not very explicitly, inculcated in the holy scriptures, that a man is composed of body, soul, and spirit ; the soul differing in nature from the spirit quite as much as from the body ; the difference between the three being a genuine difference in kind. It seems to have been in



this way that Mr. Bush developed for himself the conception that the spirit, or godlike element, is ensouled in or invested with the soul, just as this, the ensouled spirit, is embodied in or invested with the body. He learned to conceive of the soul as being the spiritual body of St. Paul; and then the doctrine of the resurrection was as clear as day. When the body, or earthly house, is dissolved, we have the soul, a house with God, around the indwelling spirit. The body stripped off by the serviceable hand of Nature who lent it for awhile, the spirit stands up within the shapely soul. This upstanding or anastasis is the resurrection; and the moment of a man's death is also the moment of his rising again. This is not the place to enter into controversy with either those views or the grounds on which they are presented; it is not the place either to dissent from or agree with their reviewer: but it is very much to the purpose to observe that not only has the Professor found additional conviction in the phenomena of zoö-magnetism, and especially in the hypothesis he adopts for the explanation of these phenomena; but these, the phenomena and his hypothesis of them, have been not a little instrumental in converting the hard-eyed exegete into an enthusiastic though somewhat self-asserting disciple of Swedenborg the Swedish Seer.

The mixing up of the phenomena now referred to, however, with the more momentous interests of theological doctrine, is by no means confined to such high-places of the field; for it is undeniable that the religious opinions of many among the laity in Europe and America have been disturbed and thrown into dissonance, if not seriously modified, by their vague convictions concerning the statements and experiments of the magnetist. Such disturbance, it ought in justice to be added, has neither always nor generally been of an ungenial kind. It is competent to our knowledge, on the contrary, that not a few earnest, if unmethodical inquirers of this great class have been dislodged from the position of materialism by the hints of Mesmerism. There are undoubtedly many of these slight but eager students, whom their notions regarding such amazing things as clearseeing have enabled, for the first time in their lives, to peruse the New Testament with patience, respect, and hope. In a word, Mesmerism, be it what it may, has actually opened the Bible to thousands; the Bible, of which it is enough for our present purpose to observe that the history of Christendom has demonstrated it to be at least the most

potent manifestation the world has yet beheld. Now it appears to us that it were inhumane and disloyal not frankly to accord the rights of an impartial inquisition to a topic, which is working such serious effects in the depths of a multitude of our brethren's spirits. Surely, if Mesmerism can be and literally is brought or forced into connection with the highest question that can engage the attention, the sooner Mesmerism is tried and set in order the better for all concerned; the better for its more crude believers, the better for its few real investigators, and the better for the prudent spectators of the controversy.

It is not only Theology, moreover, but Physics, also, that begins to be entangled with Mesmerism; and this is a circumstance very much to the point. It is now several years since the Baron von Reichenbach, a man of experience, an elaborately trained experimentalist, a chemical analyst of acknowledged excellence, and a discoverer of facts, commenced the indagation of these subtle and escaping phenomena from the side of purely physical science. Nor do the results, obtained by this patient adept in the positive method of inquiry, conflict with the still more startling things asserted by the authors of a less sensuous school. He seems, in fact, to have rediscovered, in his own more cautious and ascendant way, many little phenomena which have long been known and alleged by the followers of Mesmer. He appears to have found that magnets and crystals (or statically polarized matter) on the one hand, as well as light, heat, electricity, galvanism, and chemical action (or dynamically polarizing matter) on the other, exert the most unlooked-for influence over the nervous-systems of four or five out of every twenty human beings. Chemical action going constantly on within every visible point of the animal frame, he has not only found that one person may affect another in a similar manner, but supposed that therein resides the power of the magnetic operator. He has endeavoured to explain the vaunted might of the old mesmeric *baquet* on the same principle; on the principle, namely, of the vast amount of chemical change that is going on within it. Like Mesmer, the careful chemist has been forced to infer the existence of a peculiar fluid or force, resembling but differing from light, heat, and the rest of the so-called Imponderables, in order to render his observations coherent and intelligible. There is no present need of discussing his hypothetical views. It is enough to take cognizance of the signifi-

cant fact that an eminent physicist is now engaged in the study of phenomena, long included in Mesmerism, from the physical point of view. Nor is it less important to remember that his researches were introduced to the world of science under the auspices of Liebig and Wochler, that the late illustrious Berzelius has reported somewhat favorably regarding them, and that his experiments are of such a kind as can be readily repeated by any one who chooses. Suffice it, also, that the effects asserted to be produced by the agents enumerated above consist, for the most part, of peculiar sensations, generally more or less obscure, sometimes very pronounced and even pungent, now pleasurable, now painful, in one case distressing, in another restorative and exhilarating, but always unique and unmistakable. For example, some of his patients see beautiful flames, of some six, eight, or ten inches in height, twisting and turning around points where the common eye sees nothing at all; at the poles of strong magnets and large crystals, at the finger-ends of some human hands as well as about some people's lips, at the free ends of long wires the moment the other ends are immersed in vessels containing substances in the process of chemical reaction, and so forth. It were little short of an insult to the understanding of Reichenbach and his editors to mention that the whole investigation was conducted with the most stringent precautions against imposture or illusion. But it is by no means unbecoming to observe that the Baron's earliest subjects were chiefly patients either laboring under or recovering from deep-rooted diseases of the nervous-system; and it is not easy to escape the suspicion that they were all predisposed to such disorders: a remark which applies with equal force, however, to the most remarkable subjects of mesmeric experimentation. This circumstance is not mentioned for the purpose of derogating from the value of the experiments in question, so much as to render the occurrence of such exceptional and curious things more intelligible, or at least less repugnant to the maxims of ordinary experience. In case, however, any body should draw out of it an argument against Von Reichenbach's procedure, it may be well to qualify it by the statement that we were informed about a year ago, by his English editor, Professor Gregory of Edinburgh, that the Baron had for some time been confining his experiments to patients apparently in a state of perfect health, that is to say, a state of as good health as other people enjoy. At that time he had no fewer than sixty sound minds



in sound bodies testifying to their perception of his new lights, and permitting themselves to be used as dynamometers for the discovery of the properties of his new preponderable !

As for the character of those who have unreservedly advocated the cause of Vital Magnetism, we are distinctly of opinion that the body of mesmeric authors is very far above the contempt of any man now belonging to the commonwealth of letters. In Great Britain, indeed, there has yet been published nothing remarkable ; but the genius of Britain has never been the foremost in the newer and more vague departments of science. It holds back till a science has gained a rooting in the earth, then steps forward and plucks its richest fruits. This proceeds partly from the national caution and reserve, and partly from the essentially practical tendency of the national mind. The English intellect cannot go to work until it has something very sensible to work upon. It ignores the embryotic. The merely dynamical cannot awaken its curiosity. It prefers a visible somewhat to all the forces in the world. It swallows sulphuric ether and chloroform with avidity, but it rejects the thought of one nervous-system being struck into insensibility by the reaction of another, with something very like disgust. The stomach is its type, not the lungs. It likes a good mouthful of its subject, for it cannot digest the air. In one word, it might have been predicated that the mind of England would have been the very last to accord any thing like a kindly reception to such chameleon's food as trances and clearseeings. Notwithstanding all this, however, there are really some respectable names among the British authors on Mesmerism. Mr. Colquhoun is a man of good training, a disciple of the Scottish psychology, and not unacquainted with anatomy and physiology. Elliotson and Engledue are capital observers and clear writers, although their point of view is lamentably one-sided, being that of materialism ; a circumstance which will certainly vitiate their doctrinal conclusions and consequently embarrass their writings, even while it does not diminish the value of their observations. It must likewise be granted that Chauncey Townshend, Spencer Hall, Harriet Martineau, Atkinson, and Dove, to say nothing of Braid the hypnotist and Eodaile the Indian operator, are all single-hearted and intelligent lovers of truth and man. If they are neither philosophers nor possessed of very rare scientific endowments, they are certainly honest, fearless, and disinterested people. The same sort of things has to be said

of American authorship on the subject ; although it is likelier to receive an adequate investigation in the United States than in the mother-country.

It is to France and Germany, in fact, that the inquisitive student must turn in quest of the veritable authors in this strange department of literature. From the Marquis Puysegur and Deleuze down to Dupotet and Teste, there have been hundreds of elaborate productions written and published in Paris. A large proportion of these works have been composed by men engaged in the study and practice of medicine ; and all of them by men of education. They consist chiefly of details, they contain innumerable cases, they are deficient in classification, they generally dispense with theoretical generalization altogether, they are worth little as conclusive pieces of inductive research, and they are full of exclamation ; but still they argue zeal, probity, philanthropy, intelligence, and some degree of scientific culture. In Germany the disciples of Mesmer are, for the most part, of another order altogether. Passavent, Eschenmayer, Meyer, Ennemoser, and Kerner may be taken as good specimens of them. They are students possessed of such an amount of book-learning that there are few of our men of erudition but would show like dwarfs beside them. They are industrious in historical research beyond our usual conceptions of literary industry : Eschenmayer has now edited and mostly written some fifteen quarto volumes on the subject. They illustrate their cases and their theories with quotations from Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Proclus, to say nothing of Pythagoras ; from the ancient literatures of Persia and of India ; from the Egyptian remains ; and from the Bible. All the mystical library of mediæval Europe seems to be familiar to their indefatigable fingers. The fathers and the Rosicrucians are alike laid under contribution by these relentless inquisitors. They have consecrated their lives to their labors. They are philosophical rather than scientific, descendental in their method rather than inductive ; but they are also the faithful and humble narrators of the facts they have observed. They are the opposites of the Frenchmen. They generalize to excess. Their speculations are profound, far-reaching, coherent, and beautiful ; but the disciplinarian can descry no sufficient basis of fact, even in their own pages, for such singular superstructures. But let there come what may over the fortunes of Mesmerism, the ingenious student is certainly warranted in

maintaining that it is impossible for any candid mind to refuse an earnest and prolonged scrutiny to a body of evidence that has satisfied and fascinated men of so much philanthropy, so much perspicacity, so much disposition to appeal to nature, talent so rare, and learning so vast as are now to be found among the Mesmerists of Europe. Nay, it appears to be right and dutiful to declare that the claims of zoö-magnetism appeal no longer to the forbearance or the charity of the man of science, but to his sense of duty and right. The sacred obligations, of the critical sort, that lie upon the professed scientific leader, seem to be but ill understood in these boastful days. He should learn that he is a priest in the temple of Nature; and feel that he stands between God's semi-articulate creation and the people. He is the appointed guide of public opinion within one domain of universal interest. It is his implicit duty to be on the watch for every new form of truth, or even important error, that reaches the horizon of the times. He should be so well instructed in the dignity of his calling as to be exalted above the employment of anger and contempt, denunciation, and ridicule, as the weapons of his cause. The world expects him to be as open as the hemisphere to ascending lights; as charitable as the air to every coming shape, especially when appearing in something like a questionable guise; and as cool as the catholic sky itself in judgment. Above all men he professes to know how unfixed and expansive is the growing system of knowledge, and therefore above all men he behoves to be the very soul of chivalry in opinion. The spirit of Christian chivalry is wanted in the schools. Why, if we will take every man who differs from our scientific creed for a foe, shall we not be noble enough to borrow an epithet from Emerson, and call him our "beautiful enemy"? Let us imitate the gentle knights of old, salute him first with courtesy in the lists of honor, cry God and the Right, and then have at him with courage, but not with rancor. Let us fight not for victory, but for truth; and rejoice to be vanquished by the hero who is dearer to truth than we. Would not so gallant and manly a procedure become us better than the obstinacy of a theory of the Universe quite made up and concluded, than the sneer of imbecile discipleship to some narrowminded master, or than the indolent conservation of the little knowledge of this "ignorant present time"? Let us for any sake be generous in the entertainment of one another's sincere convictions. At all events, let us duly pay



the reverence of an undisputatious examination to the cherished opinions of every large number of our fellows. Lies cannot rule them. It is only by so much of truth as exists within error that it lives and is productive. Let the ingenuous critic, then, be affectionately curious to discover what amount of saving truth there resides in every system — theological, philosophical, or scientific — that is quick enough with life to acquire a footing in the world ; sure that a multitude of sincere, enthusiastic, intelligent, or even average men, is never wholly in the wrong.

It is evident that the system of statement, denominated Mesmerism in the gross, is in these very circumstances. It has won itself a standing-place in literature. Its disciples increase in numbers, intelligence, and literary power every year. In Europe, in America, in India, its votaries signalize themselves by industry, energy, and beneficent enthusiasm. To bring this plea for a fair hearing to a close, it is surely as manifest as the sun that it will no longer do for sciolists and fribbles, be they collegians or what sort they may, to push aside with a contemptuous word that huge imbroglio of allegation and belief before which a spirit like Coleridge stood nine long years an eager skeptic : which opposing theologues, such as Strauss and Tholuck, discuss as an established, but imperfect science ; and which includes philosophers, men of science, physicians, men of letters, and a crowd of intelligent people among its devoted adherents. As for those frivolous creatures, whose nature it is to sneer at every new light that climbs the zenith, careless whether it be a meteor of the moment or a perennial orb, they had best, (to borrow one drop of gall from the keenest sarcast of the day,) “they had best take themselves off at once, for Nature does not acknowledge them.”

We shall now enter on the second part of the task before us, namely, the conveyance, to such as need it, of a distinct conception of the kinds of statement advanced by mesmeric authors.

It is necessary to premise a few things. The brain, the spinal chord or marrow, and the nerves that ramify from and to them, to and from the rest of the body, are united under the collective name of the Cerebro-spinal Axis. This axis may be roughly divided into three great elements: the cogitative element, the sensitive one, the voluntative ; to say

nothing of the respirative tract, or any thing still more obscure. The first is the brain, considered as the material minister of intellection, emotion, and propensity; these coarsely defined subdivisions being collected under the representative adjective, cogitative. The sensitive element is simply the sum of all the nerves of sensation, specific and general, taken together with the sensitive columns of the spinal chord. The voluntative part of the axis comprises the nerves which subserve the exercise of will, together with the motive columns of the chord. It should also be remembered that the nerves of sensation and voluntary motion are spread so profusely over the body, and they branch so minutely and multifariously into the structure of every tissue, that Beeland makes the striking observation that if it were physically, as it is mentally possible to dissolve away all the bony, muscular, cellular, and vascular substance of the body, and leave the naked brain and spinal chord alone, with all their countless ramifications of nerve, there would still remain the full and shapely figure of a man; like a statue cut out of almost bodiless marble. Now it is this filamentous image which is thus shed throughout the grosser body of a man, that constitutes the cerebro-spinal axis: nay, it is this pure cerebro-spinal axis that is the veritable man himself, physiologically speaking. The bones, the muscles, the skin, the tubular vessels of all sorts, the membranes, the sheaths of the nerves themselves, the glands, the hair, are all so many supports, and riggings, and feeding-tubes, and gas-pipes, and breweries, and roofings, and ornaments of this superexcellent cerebro-spinal axis. The rest of the body is but a manifold investiture of the precious nervous-system within. The axis requires to have the visible images of things brought full and clear upon it, for example; and straightway there is a little portion of its substance spun out into the form of a pearly white sheet or retina; a globe is built round that suspended surface, chambers of liquors and an optical lens are fitted up within the base before the outstretcht curtain of nerve, a hole is left in the forepart of the sphere, and a transparent sort of watchglass is glazed in the place, the back of the retina is bedewed with a dark pigment, cordage and pulleys are fixed to the whole affair, to wheel it one way and another like a telescope, a thousand indescribable delicacies of contrivance are superadded — and there is produced an eye. It is the same with the rest of the organs. The nervous-system is the true body of the soul.

To hasten forward from these preliminary observations, and to say nothing of such minor effects of Vital Magnetism as are included in Reichenbach's researches, the numerous things described by the disciples of Mesmer may be classified under five heads. It is not pretended that the five classes, about to be defined, comprise all the statements of fact that have been adduced by these writers, but they certainly do collect and distribute the scattered heap of matter which constitutes their common creed. Our classification, indeed, is chiefly intended as a means of brevity; but, in addition to its literary convenience, we trust it will be helpful to the uninitiated reader in another way. It must be clearly understood, also, that each definition of a class is by no means closely applicable to every fact coming under that class. Each classific definition is the generic description of a multitude of recorded statements of cases. The word *Rose*, for instance, as defined by the Botanist, does not cover the particularities of any and every rose, but only those properties which it possesses in common with all the roses in the world: it is a generic, not a specific, and still less an individual description.

It is stated and accredited by the Mesmerist:—

I. That when two nervous-systems are suffered to exert their natural influences on one another, in favorable circumstances, one of these nervous-systems occasionally, or rather frequently, becomes non-cogitative, insensitive, and involuntary: or, to state the thing as it more generally happens in fact, one of them falls into a state more or less approximate to such ultra-generic or ideal condition. One of them ceases to be an individual for the time being. One of them is entranced; the mesmeric trance being totally different from common sleep, although it may yet be found to be intimately and importantly related to that kind of death in life. The circumstances most favorable to its production, apart from nervous disease, are the existence of the nervous-lymphatic temperament in the subject of trial; the shutting out of strong light, of noise, and, in a word, of all external forces which are calculated to solicit and keep awake the animal sense of self; the state of interior bodily repose which follows the digestion of a moderate meal; and the use of various manipulations on the part of the experimentalist. In other words, the cue of the operator is to cut off the solicitations of outward and internal sensation as much as possible, and then to proceed with the employment of every means he can devise for

the purpose of bringing his own cerebro-spinal axis to produce its natural effects upon the less forcible axis of the patient. Sometimes, however, one imagines himself capable of subduing his superior in energy of this sort, and the intending fascinator is fascinated by the intended victim! It is supposed that, with sufficient perseverance and consent on both sides, one of every pair would pass into this sort of trance, after exposure to such mutual influences, "with all appliances and means to boot." This brief description is that of the total entrancing of one of a pair; and it will be apparent to the careful reader that the language in which it is expressed is not technical in one sense of the word, while it purports to be very much so in another. It is not couched in the phraseology of the regular Mesmerist, because that phraseology implies a foregone conclusion: but we have endeavoured to put it in words as naked as possible, so far as hypothesis is concerned. In fact, abjuring the dialect of the science of Mesmerism, we have affected that of the science of sciences, or methodology. Renouncing the technicality of the pleader, we have run the risk of an excess of that of the judge. We have accordingly represented the mesmeric trance, a word that might have been dispensed with but for the carefulness of our definition, as nothing more nor less than a state of functional inactivity, into which one cerebro-spinal axis is flung by the neighbourhood and reaction of another one, when the usual impediments in the way of such natural reaction are sufficiently diminished or altogether removed. Suppose some interfering force were to stop the career of a planet round its sun, an interference essential to some higher manifestation of planetary life, it would not be the less true that the natural action of the sun upon the planet is such as is fitted and intended to make it revolve; and no sooner should the interfering force be put in abeyance than the retarded planet would resume its involuntary race. Again, by the superinduction of another, a higher, though a more specific force than that of chemical affinity, the otherwise impossible frames of plants and animals arise out of the dust; but the moment the energies of that vivifying power find themselves neutralized by the circumstances in and through which it works, the inferior but more hardy agent of chemical changes reasserts its freedom, and those fine tissues crumble into dust again. Now this first class of mesmeric statements of fact simply implies that there resides a force in one of every two nervous-systems, of a



purely neurological nature, which is potentially capable of playing the basilisk to the other, of paralyzing the other, to use the phrase in its etymological and not its medical sense, of negating the other, in a word : potentially, but not actually ; or rather, not actually in the ordinary circumstances of animal life ; for there is a superinduced somewhat which is generally sufficient to preserve the weaker from the stronger, and to prolong its individuality. The weaker, in fact, is provided with an interfering force, by the aid of which it offers continual resistance to the more powerful cerebro-spinal axis ; a resistance which is sometimes altogether vain, as in the case of the poor bird under the eye of the rattlesnake ; a resistance, some refining Mesmerists would say, which is never wholly successful, for, even when no sensible approach to the trance is produced, the potent brain and nerve are sure to dominate over the feebler by the mere force of superior nervous energy ; a resistance from which the only refuge is in sleep or death. It is the idea of the perfect trance, however, that has to be considered at present. All the so-called higher phenomena of Mesmerism take place when this trance is incomplete ; or rather, when it has been complete, but the patient has more or less partially awaked to individuality. So that, in a scientific point of view, they are in reality the lower phenomena, if they be phenomena at all related to Mesmerism, and not accidents troubling and perplexing its legitimate effects. The absolute trance, in which there is no thought, nor any possibility of thinking, so long as it remains entire ; no feeling, and no voluntary motion, is the highest phenomenon of the zoö-magnetic force. The other appearances occur in those who are partly disentranced : and this brings us to the description of the second sort of statements made by the Magnetists. It may be conveyed in the proposition :

II. That in the first stage of disentrancement, or, to speak more classically, disenchantment, the patient is in such a condition that a touch will awake one of his phrenological organs, while all the rest continue locked up. This is to be regarded as a stage or degree of disenchantment, notwithstanding the fact that the untouched organs are functionally bound, because the touch of the operator is unable to open even one of them so long as the patient is in the perfect trance. It seems to be a stage, the existence of which is to be inferred from the experimental test alone. The fact, that a phrenological organ answers to the touch, is the sign that the spellbound

nervous-system has come out into it. The consequence of the state and the touch is picturesque. The liberated organ springs into solitary activity, unchecked, unbalanced, and untuned by the natural energy of the remainder of the cerebral organization. When the organ, or, more strictly, the gnomon of Veneration is discharged, the patient instantly falls into the attitude and expression of adoration; and that not only unconsciously, but with a degree of character quite inimitable by the actor, and approaching, as nearly as an everyday organization can do so, to one's ideal of the saintly nature when under the sway of an ecstasy of worship. As soon, however, as Veneration is suffered to elapse into bondage, and the gnomon of Combateness is set free, the seeming saint is transmuted into the effigies of a ruffian; but, if Time, Tune, and Language are played upon together, the villain is dissolved in song: and so forth. It is of course a condition of the possible truth of this kind of statement that Phrenology be founded in nature; Phrenology, however, not as a doctrine of the constitution of man, but only as a system of physiognomy; Phrenology not as organology, but as organoscopy. It is not necessary to the admissibility of such statements, that is to say, that the gnomon of Veneration, for instance, be the source of all the conditions essential to the manifestation of worship; it were enough that the gnomon in question be a source of some of these essential conditions. To take a major example, it is undeniable that the brain furnishes conditions of the showing forth of human character; but that is a very different proposition from that which describes the brain as the organ of thought. The greater part of the world of thinkers, and that in every sense of the adjective, is of opinion that thought proceeds through the brain, not from it. A Mesmerist, accordingly, who is not a materialist, but who perceives that all his phenomena are connected with the nervous-system, would rationalize on this class of facts somewhat in this way: It is the nervous-system that is paralyzed, the spirit is intact, its activity is unwearied, it is ever ready to burst into any and every kind of action, and the instant an exit is opened in this cerebral gnomon or in that, its energies are displayed; the music it makes being that of the instrument unsealed. Those magnetists, on the other hand, who regard their act as psychical rather than phrenological, reject this class of statements, or rather they resolve them into another one, which will be defined below. The school of Mesmerism is actually divided

into these three sections, so far as phreno-magnetism is concerned. Engledue is a specimen of the thoroughgoing phrenologist, we take Ennemoser to be an illustration of what we would call the gnomonologist, and Colquhoun exemplifies the psychologist in this question. It is no business of ours to enter into the merits of the controversy: suffice it that almost every body has witnessed some of the experiments with which it is connected.

III. The third class of assertions put forth by our enthusiasts is this: That in another degree, or perhaps another kind of disenchantment, there is established a community of sensation between the person mesmerised and the mesmeriser, or between the former and some substitute for the latter. What is perceived as a sensation by the latter is shed over to the former nervous-system. The operator sips a glass of wine, and the other member of this singular pair begins to move his tongue upon his palate, opens and shuts his lips, and looks in every way as if he were tasting the generous liquor. If salt be put upon the tongue of the manipulator, the subject spits it out; and so on. The patient will occasionally even analyze a composite flavor, and put the analysis into words, if properly managed. We remember seeing a case in which the experimentalist took a mouthful of alum-water mixed with sulphuric acid; and forthwith the patient twisted her lips and compressed her nostrils under the distant influence of the compound abomination, muttering "It is sour; It is bitter." The last sentence is by no means contributed even as an infinitesimal moiety of evidence in favor of this kind of thing. We distrust our unaccustomed powers of observation, in this complicated sphere of investigation, too much to attach the smallest fraction of value to any thing we might say, of the experimental sort, under any of these classic heads of ours. It might have been added, that the experiment was made with rigor and scrupulosity, but not that we considered ourselves competent judges of what constitutes sufficient scrupulosity and rigor in such complex and important circumstances; and happily it is of no moment, for the incident has been adduced wholly for the literary purpose of bringing out the distinctive character of this class of so-called facts.

IV. The next kind of phenomenon said to be frequently exhibited by patients in a certain, but as yet quite indeterminate, degree of deliverance from the state of total trance, is like the last. It is the same as the last, indeed, with some-

thing much more astonishing superinduced upon it. In reality there seems to be no sudden transition from grade to grade in this reawaking. The ascent from this Hades is not a stair but an inclined plane. One patient is prone to stop at one point, another at another, of the dim-lit spiral. The numerous cases on record are accordingly found to glide into one another, when considered from a critical point of view; but some classification is necessary. The phenomenon allocated to this fourth class of ours, then, consists in the circumstance that not only the sensations, but also the conceptions and volitions of the operator are transfused into the subject member of the pair. When the former sips some wine, the latter tastes it too, but that is not always the whole scope of this curious communion; for it frequently occurs that when the mesmeriser only conceives of wine with vividness and intensity, the thought of wine is transferred to the patient. In such examples it is alleged that, the operator reproducing a lively image, say it were the image of some deceased or absent friend or foe, a faint but true phrenotype of that person is impressed on the cerebro-spinal axis of the subject in this degree of the mesmeric trance. In a word, were any pair to fall into this particular species of mutual relation in its ideal perfection, then the planetary nervous-system, the patient, namely, would share all the cogitative movements of the solar one. This is called the phenomenon of double consciousness; and the reader will now easily understand how the psychological Mesmerists, as we have designated them for the sake of distinctness, refer the so-called instances of phreno-magnetism to this class. They maintain that either the operator, or some one in the room, is of necessity aware of what phrenological organ is being touched; an act of expectation, if not of volition, accompanies this knowledge; and, in virtue of the (undeniable) fact of common consciousness, the hope or the wish, connected with the very intention of touching this gnomon or that, is not disappointed. It is on the same principle that the staunchest members of this section of the zoö-magnetic school explain the greater portion of what is contained in the revelations of the Poughkeepsie seer. The people about him were medical men, Swedenborgians, new-light Unitarians, Mesmerists, students of such books as are contained in Chapman's catholic series, readers of popular scientific books, and particularly of that unwise work, the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation"; in fine, enthusiasts, but not highly culti-



vated ones, men of progress but not men of substantial habits of study; a company, however, one might say, of the half-educated laity corresponding with what is perhaps the best class of scholars now in the world. The notions of such a band, gathered into a focus within the brain of the poor lad, and, after due commingling with his native rays, reflected on the wondering retinae of his witnesses, seem to have been the raw-material of light from which these Poughkeepsie illuminations were spun. Such, at least, is the judgment of such Mesmerists as hold by the present class of facts, while they reject phreno-magnetism together with spirit-seeing, inspiration, and the like. In so far as our present purpose is concerned, phreno-magnetism is quite as acceptable as double consciousness; but a double consciousness admitted for the sake of argument, it certainly appears to cover the case of Jackson sufficiently well. The illiterate character of the book, even after the devoted scribe's redaction, the utter absence of either scientific or poetic method from its motley page, and especially its want of simplicity, are all in favor of such an interpretation. But the horrid, half-digested bits of Swedenborg, Fichte's popular works done into English, Davy's incongruous dream in the "Last Days of a Philosopher," Taylor's "Physical Theory of a Future Life," the "Vestiges," and Mesmerism itself, are enough not only to nauseate the curious, but also, one would have thought, to lower the pulse of the enthusiastic. This disgusting figure of speech, however, is justified only by the revolting pretensions with which the book was ushered into public notice. Considered in itself, it is a curious and even an interesting production.

V. The fifth class of those statements of fact which have been reiterated by the continuators of Mesmer, is the most startling of them all. The very supposition that it may be true, is calculated to fill the mind with awe. Even those who laugh at it, as one of the oddest of human mistakes, cannot divest themselves of the sense of its sublimity as a fiction, if it be no more. It is the large and varied set of averments included under the general denomination of clearseeing, or, as we shall call it, farseeing. According to all accounts it seems to be dimseeing, rather than clearseeing, at all events. It is dimseeing to extraordinary distances. It is always seeing to a distance; for, if it be true that a patient ever saw into his own lungs, or into the brain of another man, he may be said to have seen to as unusual a distance as if he had seen

the inside of the moon. We speak of a shrewd fellow seeing as far through a millstone as another, although the thickness of that instrument is not many inches. Opacity is the literary equivalent of space in such an instance. English authors should accordingly write about this asserted fact as the phenomenon of farseeing, if they wish to be at once correct and idiomatic. It is, perhaps, a pity that a figure of speech derived from the eye was ever employed at all. It would certainly have been more scientific to have signalized the phenomenon as that of immediate perception, or some such thing: but farseeing is good enough for the purposes now in hand.

In this kind of partial disenchantment, the patient enters easily into conversation with the person that is put in relation with him. If she is desired by the latter to inspect his liver, she does it; and she reports her findings in infantile, imperfect, but not inexpressive language. If requested to go to a neighbouring city, and discover how some friend of the interlocutor's is engaged, she will do so in a trice. She will look to India as readily as across the street, and report the Mexican war with as much fidelity and facility as the quarrel of a pair of gossips over the way.

I'll put a girdle round about the earth  
In forty minutes!

There is a society at present in a state of activity on the continent of Europe, in which they are sending their happy patients to Venus and the Moon, as well as the rest of the planets, including Neptune. The strange thing which these voluntary academicians assert and reassert is this: That patient after patient gives substantially the same accounts of the same planets, and that in circumstances where collusion seems to be impossible. Now, if a hundred patients describe the surface of Venus as something very unique, and if all the hundred give the same description, it must certainly "puzzle the will" of the poor experimentalist! Many of our readers have doubtless been gravelled by such vaticinations. Were it our cue, we could amuse them with our own experience of these lucid states, as they are sometimes called, of the artificial ecstatic. Our sole object, however, is to draw a clear outline of this miraculous system of statement as it occurs in books; satisfied that every body who is familiar with the literature of the subject, will allow these definitions to be not only moderate, but even subdued. They are very far, at

all events, from being overcharged. We exclude from the classification a number of things still more unlikely, when considered from the point of common experience, than any of those which have been mentioned; and that upon the just principle that the majority of mesmeric authors themselves do not receive, if they do not reject them. They do not fairly belong to the creed of the body of magnetic authorship. We refer to instances in which patients have been represented as sharing the memories, as well as the sensations and present consciousness of their mesmeric opposites, so as to be able to tell them what manner of life they have led; instances in which the gift of prophecy has been said to be superadded to double memory and farseeing; instances of daily communion with the world of spirits, supposed to be interdiffused through that which we inhabit; instances of patients speaking in unknown tongues, intelligible to other ecstasies; instances, in fine, of every sort of wonder that has yet been recorded in the early literatures of the world. Before dismissing this list with a smile, it should be remembered as very curious in a literary point of view, that Zschokke, the well-known Swiss author, a patriotic politician, and a very worthy man, has duly recorded the fact, in his *Autobiography*, that he was the subject of double memory several times in the course of his life. Without any preparation or expectation on his part, he several times fell into relations, now with one person, then with another, of such a sort that he seemed to remember bygone years for that person as well as for himself. Never having seen nor heard of them before, he suddenly became the participator of their past experiences, in so far as these were connected with memory; and he often put it to the test by asking them if so-and-so had happened to them, at such-and-such a place, in this-or-that year! For particulars, the reader must have recourse to the pious and excellent story-teller's own delightful pages. It is but fair, in the meantime, to give the ultra-mesmerists the advantage of such support as is to be derived from the wide-spread reputation, the undoubted ability, and the acknowledged probity of the celebrated Swiss.

Such, then, are five kinds of phenomena, affirmed to be very frequently produced by the natural influence of more energetic nervous-systems upon feebler ones; the perfect trance, the phreno-magnetic trance, the trance of double sensation, that of double consciousness, and that of farseeing: to which may one day be added that of double memory, to be put before

the last one; that of prediction to be put after it; that of spirit-seeing after the manner of Swedenborg next; and then that consummated ecstasy, in which the blessed subject of enchantment shall seize the universal speech of heaven!

But now the question is, Will you believe all these five things? The reader is perhaps disposed to ask us if we believe them all ourselves? Nor is the answer far to seek. It is briefly and distinctly as follows.

Let the first of the classes be kept apart from the other four, and we do not believe these four, the higher phenomena as they are called, from phreno-magnetism to farseeing inclusive, in the manner in which we know and believe the received composition of water, the demonstrated distance of the sun, or any of the accredited truths of positive science. It has been shown that the magnetists themselves are by no means agreed about phreno-magnetism, so that a mere scientific spectator is more than warranted in suspending his opinion. As for the remaining three classes, if that of double consciousness be once admitted, not only is that of double sensation explained by it; but also so large a number of the facts recorded under the head of farseeing are rendered conceivable by the admission, as to bring the exceptions under suspicion. The phenomenon of double consciousness itself, however, would remain undisposed of; and still less like other things in the universe of human knowledge than ever. Notwithstanding our inability to accept these four classes of so-called facts, as they at present stand in the literature of science, let it be clearly understood that we do not reject them; we do not disbelieve them; we only do not believe them. We do not pronounce them ridiculous, nor assert them to be the results of imposture combining with coincidence. We only think them not proven, nor even rendered likely.

The degree of evidence necessary to produce conviction regarding allegations so stupendous, is very difficult of access indeed. It must be enormous in quantity, it must be unquestionable in quality, it must be accumulated by the most skilful and patient investigators, and it must be coördinated with infinite precision. Not only are such statements too extraordinary and astonishing to be admitted by the scientific mind without astonishing and extraordinary testimony to their correctness, but the inquiry is so frightfully complicated with physical, physiological, hyperphysical, and psychological per-



plexities that it probably surpasses in complexity every subject that has yet been attempted. With these profound impressions of the momentous and marvellous nature of mesmeric statements of fact, familiar with the well-known difficulty of properly observing and truly recording the simplest new facts even in unmixed physics, and feelingly aware of the peculiar and very numerous fallacies and impediments which waylay the footsteps of investigation in this particular department, we are content to be skeptics in the sense of being considerers. Hanging over all these allegations in a state of suspense, the requirements of our understanding are not satisfied with the acceptation of them; but there is so much coherence among the descriptions of many and widely diverse authors on the questions in which they are involved, the majority of these writers are so sensible and calm, and there is such a world of good faith apparent in the higher literature of the whole subject, that we cannot set all these things aside as either the baseless fabric of a visionary school upon one hand, or as a tissue of cunningly devised fables on the other. As the students of Methodology, however, we think ourselves competent to express the opinion that there does not yet exist, in the published and well-known records of Mesmerism, any thing like a digest or induction of unexceptionable, orderly, and carefully unfolded experiments, such as is demanded by universal consent in the other sciences of nature. We repeat, then, our decision that the whole case is not proven; and the happiest thing that could befall the destinies of Mesmerism would be the appearance of a truly great thinker at the head of the cause; a thinker as simple and ingenuous as Spencer Hall, possessed of experimental skill as remarkable as that of Reichenbach, as good an anatomist as Engledue, a physician of originality like Elliotson, as subtle and pliant a metaphysician as Coleridge, as learned in all things as Echenmayer, as devout as Tholuck, as inventive as Strauss, and as clear in the literary expression of his results as Harriet Martineau. As soon as such a man shall begin to devote a lifetime to these involved and reinvolved inquiries, we shall begin to become sanguine of the palpable solution of them in one way or another. In the meantime, let the present investigators of zoömagnetic phenomena study with diligence the best models of research, and combine with order and steadfastness for the production of purely experimental works, capable of producing scientific conviction.

There is, however, another sort of conviction than that which is scientific in its origin and scope. For example, a student may be powerfully impressed with a sense of the truth of the very four propositions of fact now under discussion, after having gone through a great deal of candid case-reading, or after having witnessed a multitude of apparently searching experiments; and yet feel obliged to confess, to himself and other inquirers, that his conviction is by no means methodical or scientific. Such seems to have been the position of Treviranus, when he assured Coleridge that he had seen such things, at mesmeric sessions, as he could not have believed upon the authority of his English interlocutor; and added that he accordingly did not expect them to be believed on his own testimony. Yet it is this sort of unaccountable conviction that carries the day with the vast majority of people. It is a forefeeling of the truth, not a perception of it; and that forefeeling may, in any given case, be an emotive illusion; just as the demon of the delirious patient is a sensuous one. Science puts no confidence in such forefeelings, such irresistible impressions, such convictions. It demands a clear, copious, and unexceptionable comparison of instances; but it must at the same time be confessed that it is only the man who lives and labors under the influence of this very sort of emotive conviction that will ever accomplish the triumph of an inductive demonstration in this case, or any other. All the great discoverers in history have proceeded in that way. There has always been, first, the forefeeling of their new truths shed into them from the surface of evidence most insufficient; then there has followed the life of consecration and toil; and then the attainment of an omnipotent scientific conviction, for themselves and for the world. The mesmeric reader will, accordingly, be pleased to regard us as somewhat hopeful though inexorable inquirers, rather than bigoted skeptics; even while we speak of some fifty years of continued and better-conducted investigation being the condition of the scientific spectator's pronouncing a definitive judgment on the questions at issue. At all events, if they think our demands upon their evidence exorbitant, they must just be reminded that their demands on our belief are altogether exorbitant too. At the same time, we implore the neophyte to be invincibly diffident of coming to a decision in favor of the four classes of factual statement at present referred to, under the suasive force of any thing short of absolute scientific compulsion; for

our whole philosophy of nature and of man will require to be revised, as soon as they are admitted into the canon of accepted truth. Remembering that it were quite as unwise, however, to cover them with ridicule, or to visit them with angry denunciation, let us preserve the awaiting skepticism of just-minded men.

All this, it must be understood, is applicable only to the last four of our five classes of mesmeric statement. There remains the first of them, namely, that which contains the fact of the unbroken trance. We call it the fact of the trance without any hesitation, for it seems to be fairly and forever established as a fact. It is easy of observation. It is not complicated with the possible phenomena of illusion. It is not difficult to put it to the test of crucial experiment. It has been repeated a million times and more. Almost every body has seen it. Nobody questions its occasional occurrence, whether it be called the state of hypnotism, that of magnetic sleep, or that of mesmeric insensibility. People of worldwide reputation have gone into it, such as Agassiz and Harriet Martineau; and they have attested its reality. The most painful of surgical operations have been performed on patients thrown into this trance, which is at least as profound as the kind of insensibility produced by ether and chloroform. Dr. Esdaile has set the question of its existence and its depth for ever at rest; if his guarded and unexceptionable testimony were necessary. It must be regarded as a settled thing, and now for its explanation; for, whenever a new fact is clearly and irreversibly made out, it behoves the scientific critic to assign it a place in the system of things. For the sake of the intellectual exercise, if for nothing else, let us endeavour to put this one in its niche.

The fact itself is simply this. When two cerebro-spinal axes are brought into circumstances of relation, propitious to the exertion of their natural influences on one another, one of them frequently does, (and, if care enough were used, probably always would,) fall into a trance vastly more profound than the soundest ordinary sleep; in which it is insensitive, involuntative, and non-cogitative. Is there any thing abnormal in this? Is it unlike the rest of nature? Might it not have been anticipated? Why, when two celestial bodies are brought to bear on one another, what transpires? One of them, the feebler in stellar force, becomes astro-negative to the other, passes into the state of motion round the other in

the natural state of rest; and forms a double unity with the other, in which their primary functions are the true opposites of one another, namely, motion and rest. As soon as two chemical atoms are placed in similar circumstances, that is to say in atomic neighbourhood, there takes place a similar induction of opposite states between them, and a third somewhat results from the union of the atomo-positive with the atomo-negative elements of the pair; a somewhat which is neither, and yet both at once. When pieces of zinc and copper are put in contact, the copper is instantly struck into a state in which it is metallo-negative to the zinc. Suppose a slip of copper in the very process of being dissolved in a chemical menstruum, let it be touched with zinc and it ceases to display its susceptibility of solution. The chemical activity of the copper is instantaneously paralyzed. It is in a chemical trance.\* Now, suppose it for a moment to be possible that one nerve of sensation should become neuro-negative to another nerve of sensation; suppose it possible that one nerve should be able to induce an opposite state upon another one, and that by simple nervous neighbourhood; suppose it possible that one nerve should fall into the same relation to another one as copper sustains to zinc in the metallic pair, as hydrogen to oxygen in the atomic pair, as the moon to the earth in the stellar pair; what state would be superinduced on it, the negative one of the pair of supposititious nerves, namely? In other words, through what quality in the nature of nerves should one nerve of sensation, for instance, manifest the fact that it were negative to another? Doubtless through its primary quality, its individuating quality: the rest of nature is unanimous in repose. That quality when predicated of a nerve of sensation is sensitivity; of a nerve of voluntary motion, it is voluntativeness; of a nerve of thought, it is cogitativeness; using these awkward words to express the shares contributed by the mere nervous-system towards the showing forth of sensation, volition, and thought. To return, then, to our provisional supposition, and to specialize it, suppose that one optic nerve could, in the nature of things, be suffered or made to fall neuro-negative to another optic nerve,

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\* We do not by any means wish such words as *metallo-negative*, *atomo-positive*, *astro-negative* to be introduced into the vocabulary of science. We should detest them as much as any body else. They are employed in the present emergency solely to subserve the passing literary purposes of the paragraph.



and it is clear that it would pass into a neurological state, so far as its differentiating quality as a particular part of nature is concerned, the direct opposite of that natural or positive state in which the other would remain. It would instantaneously fall into a state of insensibility to the specific action of visible bodies. It would be struck blind. But let it be supposed, furthermore, that not only the optic nerve, but also the whole of the sensitive, voluntative, and cogitative constituent elements of one cerebro-spinal axis were to fall neuro-negative to the corresponding parts of another nervous-system, it is evident that the former would lapse into a genuine trance or suspension of all its functions as a nervous-system, in other words, into the magnetic sleep; which is the very thing to be explained. It is in this way, in conclusion, that we propose to coördinate the fact of the true mesmeric trance with the rest of the system of nature; by bringing the conception of it, namely, under the idea of polarity, under the law of dualism, under the binary theory of the phenomenal.

This will not appear to be a rationale of the phenomenon under discussion to such as expect the ultimate reason of a thing in an explanation of it. But there are no ultimate reasons in inductive science. The law of gravitation, as it is generally called, is not the ultimate reason of celestial movements, for example. It is simply the statement of these phenomena, abstracted from all details, unadulterated with any spurious hypothesis; and then presented to the experimentalist, the observer, and the computator for the discovery of its conditions, proportions, and specific manifestations. The same sort of sentence has to be pronounced upon the law of chemical induction and neutralization, as well as upon those of electrical and common magnetic induction, and so forth. The astronomer is not only incompetent to assign the ulterior cause of the approach of a planetary body towards its sun until it come within a certain distance from it, when it proceeds to revolve around it in that elliptical line which is the resultant or resolution of the inexplicable force which draws it towards the solar centre, and of the equally inexplicable force which hinders its going nearer that centre than any one of all those points which make up the ellipse in which it moves; but the inquiry into the essential nature of these coöperative forces is quite out of his sphere as an astronomer. The mind perceives and can find out no last and inevitable reason why oxygen and hydrogen, brought into the requisite atomic neighbourhood of

each other, should unite in order to the production of that similarly inexplicable tertium-quid, a molecule of water, the mesothesis or resulting unity of its two coefficients. Nor can any body declare why or how the simple contact of zinc and copper should induce states in them so opposite that the chemical energy of the former is exalted, while that of the latter is rendered equal to nothing. It is in a manner precisely analogous that the zoö-magnetist is unable to state, and is incapable of ever describing, how it is that, circumstances being favorable, one nervous-system should precipitate another into a condition of what may be called physio-psychological non-identity. The cases are truly parallel; and all that has been attempted, in the foregoing paragraph, has been to place the phenomenon now considered into methodological connection with those of the physical sciences adduced: and it now behoves the experimental Mesmerist to determine the conditions, the ratios, and so forth, of this new and most important species of induction.

Nor has this view not been intuitively hinted at during the whole course of Mesmerism in history. The magnetist has always been surmising the existence of another kind of imponderable fluid, analogous to magnetism, electricity, and their congeners, in order to explain his phenomena, that is to say, to bring them into coherence with the rest of our physical knowledge: and that from Mesmer down to Reichenbach. The very phrases, animal magnetism, vital magnetism, zoö-magnetism, and so forth, are the indications of the fact. The scientific interest, working obscurely within these adventurous observers, is never done pointing, like another magnetic needle, to the necessity for a new plus and minus, a new positive and negative, a new mode of polarization, in order to the conceivability of their allegations; and they imagine they have found what is wanted in some unheard-of magnetical fluid. From the very birth of languages, the air has been a favorite similitude for spiritual powers; a similitude so cogent as to have frequently become almost identified with that which it has been taken to symbolize. In more recent times, the conception of the air has been refined upon and subtilized into that of an imponderable fluid, for the purpose of explaining certain physical phenomena. Witness caloric, light, electricity, and the other hyperbolical auræ of modern science. The error of the poetic childhood of humanity is repeated in his scientific youth! The latest movement of physics, however,

is towards the rejection of those creatures of the immethodical mind. Sound thinkers begin to see that they are mere idols. Vibrations and vibriatuncles are now taking their place; the new conception emanating from the analogy of sound, the vibrations of which appear to be visible to the eye, as well as potential in the ear. In fine, the physicist is able at last to look at bare facts, without investing them with beggarly shifts. Yet this victory of naked truth is slow as well as sure. The Newtonian mode of stating the fact of gravitation was once abused as mystical, whereas it was precisely the reverse. It was those fluid-mongers who were the mystics then, as they are now. They invent they know not what, in order to escape the dire necessity of confronting pure force face to face. They cannot think that common matter is sufficient for its own energies, and therefore they project a family of matters extraordinary for the purpose. One might well wonder if these ghost-loving schoolmen ever inquire whether a series of subter- or super-fluids be not needful for the sustaining of their favorites from the invisible world. Since the calorific fluid must be devised for the sake of expanding solids, liquids, and gases, it is surely the next necessity of the case to devise something else to produce the expansion of caloric! But super-caloric, as this second creation of the calorician's "heat-oppressed brain" would fall to be denominated, must likewise be provided with an expansor, a super-super-caloric; then this double-superfine imponderable were just as needful of an actuator as the original caloric himself; and so on in an interminable series, as appalling as it were fantastical:—

What! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?  
Another yet?—A seventh?—I'll hear no more.

Nay, but caloric is self-expansive, the lingering disciple of Doctor Black will urge. Well, is it not just as simple, and far more direct to affirm that the gases are self-expansive in all conditions, while liquids and solids are self-expansive under conditions which are very determinable? The fact is, that solids and liquids are potentially self-expansive bodies, in which the self-expansive tendency is overcome by the contractive energies of nature, gravitation, and cohesion; precisely as a plant or an animal is, chemically speaking, a putrefactive body, in which the tendency to fall down into putridity is overcome by the superior force of vitality. The instant a living substance ceases to be the subject of the upholding power of life,

it succumbs to those inferior forces which melt it down again into the rest of nature. And the moment a solid or a liquid body is relieved from the constraint of cohesion and gravity it expands.

This mode of affirming the influence one cerebro-spinal axis possesses over another should, accordingly, by no means repel those Mesmerists who are watchful of the tendency of science towards a dynamical view of all natural phenomena; although, with the exception of the ultra-psychological section of their own school, they have been hitherto hankering after some mysterious fluid, supposed to pass from the operator to the patient, or from the patient to the operator. The gist of the argument, which is now pressed on the attention of these enthusiastic investigators, is simply to the effect that there not only is no necessity, but that it is also bad methodology, to have recourse to the mystical generation of airs, auræ, winds, afflatus, wareens, animal-magnetic fluids, new imponderables, or other nonentities, in order to bring the phenomena of Mesmerism within the range of intelligibility, that it is to say, within the pale of recognized analogy. As to the rational grounds of the zoöpoler force, of vitality proper, of chemical affinity, of common magnetism, of cohesion, and of gravity, they are beyond the reach of science altogether. In a word, the rational grounds of things lie out of the province of a merely scientific methodology. They belong to the possible domain of philosophy, properly so called: but it is a domain not yet begun to be realized in any direction; and probably not realizable until after the discovery of a new philosophical organon, more potent than the syllogism, the process of induction, or the doctrine of antinomies. In the meantime, the man of science must willingly confine himself to the study of phenomena alone, and beware of perplexing the world with impertinent nothings or ludicrous impossibilities.

Returning to the subject more immediately in hand, the inquisitive reader may demand a secondary explanation; a *rationalè*, namely, of the too indubitable fact that such entrancings as have just been discussed, are not constantly occurring and interrupting the business of the world. How is it that, when one half the world shakes hands with the other, the less fortunate of the halves is not plunged into this deepest of sleeps? Nay, how is it that the whole splanchnic or sympathetic system of nerves in the former does not likewise fall neuro-negative to that of the latter; and the heart, lungs,



stomach, and other vital organs consequently cease to play their all-important parts in the drama of animal life? How is it, in fact, that one half of us do not strike the other dead, like the basilisk of ancient fable; and the residuary demi-humanity divide itself again and again in fatal fascination, until the last man be prematurely left alone? The question is hardly fair, yet the reply seems to be obvious. It lies in the peculiar characteristic of a nervous-system, as contrasted with any other thing in nature. A nervous-system is reactive upon, or sensitive of the movements of all the rest of creation. So is a sun, so is a planet, so is an atom: the disturbance of the smallest mote disturbs the universe. But a nervous-system is more: it is sensible that it is sensitive of the motions of things. It is sensitive of itself. Were it not so, the query might well arise, Where does the body of a man end, and the rest of nature begin? Are the bones, are the nails, is the cuticle, is the hair the body? Is the whole of nature not the body of the soul? No, because the sensation of his sensations sculpts a man out from the rest of nature: and he walks abroad the paragon of animals, as well as a denizen of the supernatural world. Nor is his (merely animal) individuality left at the sport of polarity. It is protected from that otherwise inexorable law by the myriad of sensations which shower down on the periphery of his cerebro-spinal axis from external nature, as well as by its own innumerable movements of volition and thought; while the respiratory and sympathetic nerves are solicited day and night by the pressure of the blood at the heart, the touch of venous blood at the lungs, and so forth. The nervous-system is kept awake by the inpouring and outpouring tides of ceaseless sensation. Hence it is, perhaps, that the negative-polarization of the sympathetic and respiratory is impossible, and that of even the axis difficult and infrequent. These are possibly the reasons why the nervous-lymphatic temperament on one hand, and a powerful well-balanced nervous-system on the other; freedom from the digestive process; every thing that is monotonous, in the figurative as well as in the literal sense of the adjective; and the cutting away of as many as possible of the individualizing agencies that act upon the expected subject, are propitious, and even more or less necessary to the production of the phenomenon now criticized. Such, then, is our theory of the trance. It is the conception of the two cerebro-spinal axes, of different degrees of energy, brought into the relation of dual unity; the one

being conceived of as neuro-positive or solar, the other neuro-negative or planetary; the former corresponding with zinc, the latter with copper.

If these observations had not already extended to so great a length, we should have been glad to assail the other theories of the trance that have been laid before the world, and to defend this one with more particularity and detail. Suffice it at present that, if any body were to bring forward the self-induced hypnotism of Mr. Braid's subjects, nothing is yet known of the distances at which one nervous-system can become negative to another; and that the steady contemplation of a bright or particular point may only concentrate the circumstances favorable to a person's being unconsciously entranced by another in the same room or house. The objector must also remember that every man is possessed of two brains, two spinal chords, two systems of nerves for sensation, and two for voluntary motions, although only one splanchnic or visceral system. Each of us is composed, in fact, of a pair of cerebro-spinal axes, and one of them is always a little different from the other. The more alike they are, the more regular the features, and the more insipid the character in general. In the dreamer, the seer, the poet, the philosopher, the man of prowess, there is always a visible inequality between the two brains and nervous-systems, which are thus sheathed in the skin and outer body of what is called a man. The Greek sculptors never pretermitted this fact: they knew it probably without reflection; and they expressed it without hesitation. An excessive difference, on the other hand, seems always to be the gnomon of a violent and eccentric nature. Be the meaning of these hints what it may, however, each of us is, speaking physiologically and in sober reality, what one of the classical characters in British poetry is said to have been in an ideal sense of the words. Each of us is "two single gentlemen rolled into one"; and we venture to surmise, if not to suspect, that not only the hypnotism of the Manchester patients, but the common blessed sleep of every body else, is in reality connected with this sort of polarity: but from these fascinating subjects we must now refrain.

But what if all the four classes of allegation, which have been dismissed above without very much ceremony, turn out to be true! What if they only await the slow-sure revolution of the scientific year! The simple trance was long disputed, and even scouted, but it is now an indubitable fact! Is it not

at least possible that clearseeing, and all that sort of thing, may also become established on the accumulated experience of the ingenuous? The Hours alone can bring the answer to such eager questionings as these. As soon, however, as the observers shall have done their part of the work, and set the factual department of the subject beyond contention, we are ready to essay our own as critics; for it is our conviction that the theory of polarity is competent to the explanation of all the higher phenomena of Mesmerism, supposing them to be true. It was our original intention, indeed, to have dealt with these phenomena under such a temporary supposition as is indicated at the close of the last sentence. We should have done so, not as a scientific duty, certainly, but as a piece of high and exhilarating scientific sport. It would have been undertaken and executed in the spirit in which the hardest-working men will hasten of an evening, after the substantial and necessary labors of the day, to the cricket-ground or the wrestling-green. In the event of our readers caring enough about the matter, we shall perhaps summon them ere long to be the spectators of such a game. In the meantime, it is necessary and sufficient to point out, with forefinger as firm as iron, the most important consideration, that, whether the phenomena in question ever be made out or not, the circumstance can have no earthly relation with the majority of the wonders of the New Testament: and that for this one overwhelming and conclusive reason;—That the seers, healers, and wonder-workers of the Gospels and the Book of Acts are not the negatives, but the positives in their respective pairs, if they be any thing. It is not the patient that shows forth the marvellous latencies of the nature of man in the most significant of these sacred instances, but the operator; whereas it is the very reverse in the mesmeric couples. This single circumstance, in fact, differentiates those particular cases once for all from the mesmeric phenomena; and announces their belonging to another sphere of the hyper-physical altogether.

## ART. II. — THE OCEAN AND ITS MEANING IN NATURE.

It is one of the peculiarities of the Ocean, that from whatever side we look at it, it makes a strong impression upon our mind. We may contemplate it merely with the physical eye, as it extends uninterrupted and restless beyond the limits of our perception; or we may consider it in a scientific point of view, with the eye of our intellect, as an agent of natural power, and ascertain the part which it has played in the history of our planet; or in its relation to natural history, as the principal seat of animal life; or in an economical and historical point of view, pointing out its bearing upon civilization and human development in general.

We intend to consider the Ocean in these different points of view, but, before entering upon the subject, we think it proper to say a few words about its relation to human nature, and the light in which it has been considered by the different nations from the beginning of history.

Let us first speak of the Ocean in its relation to human nature.

It may be said that there is between the liquid element and our inmost nature a deep affinity which is independent of external condition, since it is found among men in a savage state as well as among the cultivated. It is anterior to education, and is even witnessed in the child before he is able to understand its meaning.\*

The impression which water naturally produces upon us becomes still more profound when we combine with it the idea of extent. Water under the form of the Ocean becomes then the emblem of all that is vast, illimitable, immeasurable. We adopt it immediately as the truest image of the Infinite. It is, as a poet said, "*l'infini visible qui fait sentir aux yeux les bornes du temps et entrevoir l'existence sans bornes.*"

In a philosophical point of view, it would no doubt be an object of interesting study, to ascertain why this image is so natural and so generally received. It is obvious that it is

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\* Those who live on the border of a sheet of water, the sea, a lake, or a large river, have often observed children, even of a lively and restless temperament, spend whole hours in looking at the water.



not extent alone which suggests it, since there are other phenomena — such as a desert, a prairie — whose dimensions, though not equalling the Ocean, nevertheless far exceed the limits of our vision, without impressing us in the same manner. Neither is it the vividness of oceanic impressions which constitute their striking character. Other phenomena of nature — such as high mountains, glaciers, great cascades — sometimes produce upon our mind an impression not less strong and perhaps more exciting. But this emotion is of a very different nature. That which strikes and moves us in them is, besides their dimensions, their definite form, their distinct outlines, their contrast with the surrounding objects, their individuality, in one word.

The Ocean has no definite form, no individuality, and this is the reason why it cannot be described. It is precisely in this absence of form that we have to look for the secret of its power. Indeed, if it be true that the solid form with its sharp outlines, — a crystal, for example, — is the most perfect expression of matter, the liquid form, on the other hand, wanting as it does a fixed outline, ever changing and impressible in all its parts, does it not remind us, in some degree, of this pervading essence that we feel existing within us, which is the foundation of our organization, and which has also neither form nor limit?

“To try to paint the Ocean is like trying to paint a soul,” said an eminent critic.\* And yet there is in the Ocean a real beauty, a real poetry, which in a measure is felt by every body, but which he alone can fully understand who from a high cliff has some time contemplated, at the edge of the horizon, the brilliant and warm colors of the sky melting into the soft and quiet tone of the surface of the waters, or he who has watched the waves in a storm, in their well-defined but transient forms, as they chase each other in endless succession. He also who, upon a still summer night in the tropical Ocean, has seen the stars glistening with equal lustre on the bosom of the deep or in the celestial vault, can understand why it was that the ancients made the Goddess of Beauty rise out of the Ocean.

This natural charm of the Sea is a sufficient explanation of the universal interest in all events which belong to the Ocean, which is felt even by those who have but a vague idea of it,

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\* The author of “*The Modern Painters*.”

which causes, for example, the chamois-hunter to forget the dangers and attractions of his mountains, and the backwoodsman the panther of his wild forest, while listening to the narrative of the sailor, who tells him of the wonders of the Ocean. Even the adventures of Ulysses — would they have the same charm without his struggles against the waves and the tempest?

Admitting thus an intimate relation between the Sea and our inmost nature, we do not wonder at the beneficent influence which the Ocean has upon us, and which we find even in the generous dispositions and the open although rude character of the simple sailor. The Ocean is truly the friend of man. It not only affords pleasure for him upon whom life smiles, it has also consolation for him who has sorrow for his portion. The soul that suffers finds in it an almost instinctive assurance that there must be somewhere similar spaces, where his powers of expansion may be freely unfolded.

It is in this affinity between human nature and the Ocean that we have to look for the explanation not only of the importance which is given to the Ocean in the different cosmogonies, but also for this other fact — that most of them agree in considering the Ocean as the origin of all things. According to the Hindoo mythology, Brahma caused the earth to rise by stirring the Ocean with the mountain Menu. Homer represents the Ocean as the source of all that exists, —

Ὠκεανὸς, ὃς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται, (*Iliad*, xiv., 246.) —

and even of the gods themselves. He calls it the father of all the gods :

Ὠκεανὸν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθῶν. (*Iliad*, xiv., 201.)

It is the same idea which we find, at a later epoch, at the foundation of several philosophical schools, especially of those of the Ionians and Eleatics, who considered water as the original element of all beings ; and we know that the Stoics represented Neptune as the spirit of the universe manifested in the liquid element.

Κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὕγρον διαρασιν. (*Diog. Laert.*, vii., 147.)

Even among the Indian tribes of the West we find the same idea. According to their tradition, the Great Spirit, in the form of a beaver, brought from the depth of the Ocean a mouthful of earth, with which he builded an island, which became afterwards the American continent.

When the nations of antiquity had reached a certain degree of civilization and attempted to personify the forces of nature, it was natural that they should assign an eminent rank to the Ocean. According to the condition in which the different people were placed, and the advantages or inconveniences they derived from the sea, they considered it sometimes as a propitious divinity and sometimes as a hostile power. For the Egyptian who derived his prosperity from the Nile and its periodical inundations, Osiris, or the Nile, was the beneficent god, the source of good, whilst Typho (including both the sea and the desert,) was the hostile divinity, the destructive element, whose incursions were dreaded as the greatest calamity.

To the Phœnician, who looked for his fortune on the floods, the Ocean was a tutelary divinity, and history teaches us that these bold navigators used to offer numerous sacrifices to the god of the Sea, before they embarked upon their adventurous expeditions.

With the Greeks, we find Poseidon (the god of the Sea) among the protecting deities of Hellas, and we know, also, that among the Romans Neptune numbered a great many temples, where sacrifices of all kinds were offered to him.

In the Scandinavian mythology the oceanic deities do not hold, as it appears, so eminent a rank. Ran or Rana, the goddess of the Sea, is represented under the form of a frightful old woman; she lives at the bottom of the Ocean and takes possession of all those who are shipwrecked. Her husband is the god Æger, who more particularly represents the sea in tumult. It appears that he was also feared by the old Britons, and, according to Carlyle, there still exist traces of this old tradition in some parts of England. In Nottinghamshire, the fishermen say, when a strong wind drives the sea up into the river Trent, that "*the Æger is coming.*"

The fact that the principal mythologies — those of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Romans — took their rise on the border of an inland sea, (the Mediterranean,) early led these people to make a distinction between the Ocean (Ὠκεανός) and the Sea, (Πόντος,) that is to say, the Mediterranean. They represent the Ocean as an immense river surrounding both the land and the sea, but without mingling his waters with the latter. It is thus, also, that it is represented on the shield of Achilles; the same idea is met with in the Greek poetry at a much later epoch. We find

it even in the Prometheus of Æschylus, at a time when geographical knowledge had long proved it absurd.\*

It was natural that the Ocean, considered as distinct from the Sea, should appear to the ancients in a more vague although not less imposing character. According to Homer, it is the primitive river, from which all the waters, the Sea as well as the springs and rivers, proceed. (*Iliad*, XXI., 196.) This same idea is set forth in the myth, in which we find Okeanos leaving his palace on the border of the great river at the extremity of the earth, and marrying his sister Thetys, from which union sprang the principal rivers of Europe and Asia. It is from the palace of Okeanos that the sun comes in the morning, and thither he returns at night. (*Iliad*, VIII., 485; XVIII., 240.) The twilight also dwells in its waves. (*Iliad*, XIX., 1. *Odyssey*, XXII., 197.) The stars bathe in his bosom, (*Iliad*, v., 6,) with the exception of one, the Polar Star. (*Iliad*, XVIII., 489. *Odyssey*, v., 275.)

Let us now speak of the Ocean in its relation to animated nature.

It would be a great mistake to consider the Ocean as barren and desert. Naturalists have long ago demonstrated that the sea and not the land is the principal seat of life. The land, to be sure, is the habitation of the most perfect animals, and as it constitutes, besides, the habitation of our own species, we feel naturally inclined to connect the idea of life more closely with it than with the Ocean. Besides, the land being less uniform, it affords more favorable conditions for the development of a greater variety of functions, among which there are several which we consider as characteristic of animal life, as, for instance, the faculty of uttering sounds and of expressing in this way feelings of pleasure and of pain, whilst almost all marine animals are dumb. Their senses in general are less sharp, and their power of locomotion not so perfect as in those animals that live on land.

But, on the other hand, it ought not to be forgotten that in the number of species, as well as of individuals, the Ocean, or at least the water, far excels the land; so that the total amount of life is far more considerable in the water than on

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\* It was Herodotus who first opposed this idea of considering the Ocean as a river, since, says he, there are vast seas at the South and West, and nothing is known of the North.



the land. Among the thirteen classes into which zoölogists generally divide the animal kingdom,\* there are six which are exclusively aquatic; namely, the three classes of the department of Radiata, the Jellyfishes, Echinoderms, and Polypes, which, with the exception of some few fresh-water Polypes, are, moreover, all marine. In the department of Mollusks, we find two classes exclusively aquatic, the Cuttlefishes and Clams. Finally, there is the great class of Fishes among the Vertebrates, which is entirely composed of aquatic animals. Among the seven other classes there is none, with the exception of the Birds,† which does not contain aquatic animals. Thus we have, among the Mammifers, the important order of Whales, which are all marine; among the Reptiles, the Tritons and many frog-like animals; among the Insects, a number of water insects. As to the Crustacea, or Crabs, they are almost exclusively aquatic, since they number but a few small land species; the Worms, also, are mostly aquatic, as are likewise the Snails. In the present state of our knowledge, it may be safely stated that two-thirds of the animal kingdom are aquatic. But as the marine animals are much less known than the terrestrial, it is to be expected that their proportion will be increased very much, especially if we include in our survey the extinct or fossil species, which are for the most part marine.

Whoever has looked down in a shallow, quiet sea, and has beheld the variety of creatures of all sorts — crabs, snails, worms, star-fishes, polypes — which live among the sea-weeds, may have some idea of the amount of life which is concealed in these submarine abodes. It has been observed by an eminent traveller, (Darwin,) that our most thickly inhabited forests appear almost as deserts, when we come to compare them with the corresponding regions of the Ocean. And yet those animals which we are able to follow in their abodes, as they jump, run, swim, spin round, creep, or balance themselves among the sea-weeds, are nothing in comparison to that host of smaller creatures, imperceptible to our eyes, — the *infuso-*

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\* Mammifers, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Crustacea or Crabs, Insects, Worms, Cephalopods or Cuttlefishes, Gastropods or Snails, Acephals or Clams, Medusæ or Jellyfishes, Echinoderms, (Sea Eggs and Five Fingers,) and Polypes.

† The fact of an animal being aquatic or terrestrial is best ascertained by the element in which it is born. Birds do not lay their eggs in the water, and therefore may safely be considered as land animals, although some species live almost exclusively on the water.

*ria* and *foraminifera*,—the number of which is daily increased by means of microscopic investigation, and which are all, without exception, aquatic. A single tuft of a small alga, or a bunch of polypes, is thus transformed into a forest quite as thickly inhabited as the shoal with its sea-weeds is to our naked eye. Besides, these minute animals are not, like most of the higher ones, limited to the shores and shoals; they are found even at the greatest depths of the Ocean, where no other animals seem to thrive. Mud from a depth of six thousand feet, on the coast of the United States, has been found by Professor Bailey to contain several new species of infusoria, and according to Ehrenberg, not only every sea, but to a certain degree the different depths of the Ocean, each contains species peculiar to it and not to be found elsewhere.

The number of individuals in the marine species is not less remarkable. We have only to reflect a moment on the quantity of fishes of different kinds,—mackerel, cod, haddock, eels, &c.,—and also the number of lobsters, crabs, and clams, which are annually caught on the coast of the United States. Yet, in spite of these periodical destructions, they are found every year equally numerous. The phosphorescence of the sea affords us another striking evidence of the innumerable amount of individuals in certain marine species. In order to have an idea of it, one must have seen in a fine summer night the sea sparkling like a furnace at every stroke of the paddle-wheels, and have ascertained by direct examination that each sparkle is a little animal. Or one must have seen in the daytime the surface of the water teeming with those beautiful, little, transparent creatures of the class of *Medusæ*, (*Beroë*, for example,) and remember that these animals constitute the only food of the largest whales. Lastly, we may call to mind those coral islands of the southern seas, those whole archipelagoes, constructed by little animals of the class of *Polypes*, some of which are almost microscopic.

The sea along the coast of the United States is not inferior to any other, either in number of species or of individuals. Concerning the species that live near the shores, we have only to refer to the catalogues and surveys published by the different States, and as to those that are found in deep water, we may state, as an instance of their variety, that in an excursion on board of one of the vessels of the United States navy, among the shoals of Nantucket, it was only necessary to cast the dredge in order to get a rich collection of sea animals, for

the most part new species, or such as had not been noticed before on this side of the Atlantic. Among the species thus obtained, there is one which deserves a particular attention, in as far as it may be cited as an instance of the great amount of animal life existing unnoticed in the depths of the sea. The species in question belongs to a genus known to naturalists under the name of *Salpa*. They are little animals of the size of a small bean, gelatinous and transparent like crystals, and, what constitutes their most striking peculiarity, they are attached to each other in double rows, so as to form long strings like necklaces of crystals, which are called *colonies*. These curious animals had never before been noticed on this coast. The first specimens were dredged in an isolated state in the Vineyard Sound. Some weeks later, during the month of September, the vessel being at anchor in the bay of Nantucket, the surface of the water, immediately after a heavy shower, was suddenly seen teeming with elongated bodies like long transparent worms. The pilot, having been asked what these strange bodies could be, answered that it was the spawn of the Bluefish (*Temnudson Saltator*, Cuv.) that came thus to the surface after a warm rain, as he had noticed it many times. Natural as this explanation appeared in consequence of the great numbers of those fishes which at that season of the year came to spawn in the bay, it could not entirely satisfy the naturalist who happened to be on board. He wanted to examine more closely the supposed spawn, and secured several strings. What was his surprise on finding, that instead of fish eggs he had before his eyes perfect animals, which not only moved by successive contractions, but in consequence of their great transparency allowed him even to examine in the most distinct manner the circulation within the body. They were seen that day only during a few hours, and disappeared suddenly towards sunset. Some days later, they came again still more numerous, and could be seen at the depth of at least five feet. It was thought that there were, on a moderate computation, fifty strings in sight, and as there were at least thirty individuals in a string, it was calculated that the total amount of individuals was not less than 500,000,000,000 for a square mile, without counting the free individuals.\*

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\* The Salpas are among those animals in which that singular mode of reproduction, known under the name of *alternate generation*, is to be observed — the offspring never resembling the parents, but the grandparents. In the Salpas, the aggregated individuals produce isolated young quite different in shape, and these, in their turn, produce again the strings.

This fact, whilst affording us an instance of the prodigious quantity of animals that may live unnoticed in the depths of the sea, makes it at the same time conceivable that so many whales as are known to have existed previously along these coasts, could find there are an abundant supply of food, in the absence of other similar gelatinous animals, (Beroë and Pteropods,) upon which they feed in the more northern regions.

If we consider that each marine species is circumscribed in limits which it does not pass, or, in other words, that they are subject to laws of distribution and association, as precise if not more so than those that preside over the distribution of terrestrial species, we must allow that to the zoölogist, as well as to the philosopher, the conditions of aquatic life, and the peculiarities of the Ocean-bed by which these conditions are modified, are not less important to know than those which refer to the dry land.

Another consideration still increases the interest in these investigations; namely, the fact that it is chiefly by the study of the marine animals, and of the manifold conditions of soil, temperature, depth, and climate in which they live, that we are enabled to judge of the conditions of the earth in earlier geological periods, in as far as we may compare the remains of fossil species, their association, and distribution through the strata of the earth, with the condition of the analogous species now living on our shores.

The Ocean has also a great importance in a botanical point of view; for, although it be true that the marine plants are less numerous and diversified than the land plants, (the dry land being the chief seat of vegetable life,) there are, nevertheless, whole groups which grow in water, as, for example, the Algæ and the Fuci. As in the animal kingdom, we find also among plants that the aquatic species hold an inferior rank, and in the same manner as the lowest animals, the Polypes, are exclusively aquatic, so we find the lowest plants, the Algæ, only in the water. It is thus in the liquid element that the two kingdoms meet. There we find those seeds of *Confervæ* that spin round like *Infusoria*, and there again grow those animals which have all the appearances of a plant, a root, a stem, branches, and whose flowers are living animals. It is therefore by a comparative study of these oceanic forms that we can arrive at a true understanding of the relations that exist between the two kingdoms, and perhaps finally solve the important question which has so long puzzled naturalists; namely,



where the limit is between plants and animals, if there be any at all.

As to the inferiority of the marine and aquatic species, we ought further to observe that it is not merely a general rule, applicable to the great divisions, but that it can also be traced in the details. Not only are the marine animals and plants as a whole lower than the land animals and land plants; but moreover, if we direct our attention to those groups (classes or orders) which contain both land and marine species, we shall generally find that the latter are the lowest. Thus, among the Mammifers, the aquatic tribes, the Whales, are undoubtedly the lowest; among the Reptiles, the Tritons and Frog; among the Insects, the aquatic kinds hold evidently a very low rank; and there can be no doubt that among the Snails, the few species that live on land are superior to the multitude of marine tribes. Neither is it to be overlooked that among those animals which, in consequence of a metamorphosis, change their condition of existence and pass from one element into another, the progress is constantly from the aquatic element to the dry land. Thus the tadpole, which is exclusively aquatic, respiring by means of gills, becomes an air-breathing animal when transformed into a frog. The mosquitoes are at first small and dull worms living in water, and become afterwards the restless creatures that fill the air. But there is no instance known of an animal becoming aquatic in its perfect state, after having lived in its lower stage on dry land. The progress invariably points towards the dry land. This fact becomes still more important, if we remember that the first animals and plants which appeared on earth in the primary or palæozoic epoch were aquatic, and that it is not until a later epoch, (the epoch of the coal formation,) that we find, for the first time, land animals and land plants.

From whatever side we may consider the laws of the organic creation,—in its actual distribution over land and water, or in its distribution in time through the geological ages, or in the physiological evolutions of some of the animal species,—we are invariably brought back to the liquid element as the starting point of all progress. We may then say that the modern investigations merely go to confirm this great idea, which was vaguely anticipated by the ancient poets and philosophers, when they tell us that the Ocean is the origin of all things.

We will next consider the Ocean in a physical and geographical point of view.

The sea, as a whole, occupies more than two thirds of the surface of our globe. The distribution of the waters is another still more important point to consider. We know that, far from being equally distributed over the earth's surface, there is, on the contrary, the greatest diversity in this respect. It seems as if the land had been concentrated around the North Pole, whilst the opposite part of the spheroid is almost exclusively covered with water, so that if the northern hemisphere be designated as the continental hemisphere, the southern hemisphere deserves with still more reason the name of the aquatic hemisphere.

The relation of the sea to the land, and the manner in which this great body of salt water is separated by the continents, has caused it to be divided into several basins which we designate under the name of oceans. Thus we distinguish the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean. In certain respects these basins may be considered as mere gulfs of the great reservoir around the South Pole.

Each of these oceans has a character of its own, independent of those peculiarities which arise merely from the climate or the animals that live in it. Thus the leading feature of the Pacific Ocean consists evidently in the endless number of islands and archipelagoes which are scattered all over its surface. The Atlantic Ocean, on the contrary, has very few islands; but its shores are more varied. There is no other ocean which combines itself in so many ways with the land; where we find, for example, so many promontories projecting into the sea, and so many gulfs and sounds penetrating into the land. The consequence of this is a great amount of coast in a small space, as we see it exemplified in the coast of the United States, and in a still higher degree in the coast of Europe, where it has had a paramount influence upon civilization. The Atlantic is besides remarkable for having the greatest number of inland seas, which, although connected with the Ocean, are nevertheless so completely surrounded by the land as to be in some degree independent of its influence, and thus to have a character of their own; as, for example, the Baltic, and, above all, the Mediterranean. We may likewise cite as belonging here Hudson's Bay, and in some degree the Gulf of Mexico, all of which are connected with the Atlantic. The Indian Ocean, although less strongly

characterized than the two preceding, nevertheless, from the peculiarity of its long peninsulas derives a character of its own, which is not without importance, especially when considered with reference to navigation.

A thorough investigation of the Ocean ought not to be limited merely to its form and extent. The depth of the sea must likewise be taken into consideration. As a general rule, it may be stated that the sea is less deep near the coast than at a distance from it. Thus the coast of the United States is bordered in its whole length by a zone of shallow ground, which, according to its peculiar shape, has been designated under the names of shoals, flats, and banks, the knowledge of which is of the highest importance for navigation. A similar zone is to be traced along the coast of Europe and especially around the British islands. The average depth of the North Sea is less than two hundred feet, so that an upheaval of some hundred feet would suffice not only to connect the British islands with the continent of Europe, but also to double its area. There are geological reasons to suppose that at a previous geological epoch, a direct connection existed between England and France, and also between England and Ireland. Some eminent naturalists have even tried to explain in this way the fact that the animals and plants of the British islands are the same as those of the continent, supposing that they have migrated into the British islands at the time when this connection existed.

We do not yet possess a sufficient amount of soundings to enable us to draw a comparison between the depths of the different oceans, although there is every reason to suppose that they are also in this particular different from each other. Laplace had tried to demonstrate by astronomical considerations, that the depth of the Ocean ought to be proportionate to the elevation of the continents. But recent investigations of the average elevation of the continents do not seem to support this view. Indeed, according to the calculation of Humboldt, (which of course can be but approximate,) the heights of the continents, supposing the inequalities of their surface reduced to the same level, would be, for Europe, 600 feet; for America, 1,050 feet; and for Asia, nearly 1,100 feet. Now the soundings we possess, although not very numerous, nevertheless authorize the assumption that the average depth of the Ocean far exceeds this amount. There is no ocean in which there has not been found a depth of

several thousand feet. Thus we know that in the Arctic Ocean, whose bottom is very uneven, in latitude  $76^{\circ}$  N., Scoresby did not find ground at 7,200 feet. Captain Ross found as much as 6,000 feet in Baffin's Bay. The Atlantic, opposite the coast of the United States, has been sounded in several places by the officers of the United States Coast Survey, who have found from 6,000 to 8,000 feet. But the great basins of the southern seas are above all remarkable for their great depth. We know that Captain Ross, at the west of the Cape of Good Hope, sounded 15,000 feet, and the same navigator did not reach the bottom with a line of 27,600 feet, west of St. Helena; a depth which is almost equal to the height of the loftiest peak of the Himalaya chain. By combining these facts with other considerations connected with the form of the surrounding continents, some recent geographers have come to the conclusion that the average depth of the Atlantic must be at least two miles and a half, and that of the Pacific at least three miles.

As to the inequalities of the bottom of the Ocean, it is stated by some navigators that they are even much more considerable than those of the land. According to Captain Wilkes, the great depressions, or submarine valleys, run nearly at right angles to the great mountain chains of this continent; there is, at the equator, a depression to nearly the 5th parallel of south latitude, where a ridge occurs; at the 15th parallel, there is another depression to be found; 10 degrees further south we have another ridge; and it again increases and then lessens in depth twice towards the polar circle.

It remains to consider the Ocean as one of the productive agents in the economy of Nature. Howsoever important the Ocean may appear when examined from the points of view already considered, they do not constitute its only or even its chief claim to our attention. To consider the phenomena of Nature merely in their connections with one another, to look only at their useful or agreeable side, is to judge the works of God from a narrow point of view, and to mistake their true signification. Every object in Nature exists in itself and for itself, before it forms a part of any whole; in other words, it bears in itself the reason of its existence. It is true, the oak in the forest combines with other trees to furnish food for the beasts of the field and a shelter for the birds of the air; it is true, a shady bower gladdens and refreshes us with its



greenness and its shade; but shall we judge from this that these things have no other part to play in Nature? Shall we rest contented here that we have learned all the meaning of the Pole-star, because it renders such signal services to the sailor struggling against the storm, or because it serves as a faithful guide to the slave in his nocturnal pilgrimage journeying towards the land of freedom? No more does the Ocean exist solely to serve a useful purpose, and for the sake of its connection with the rest of the universe. Before the first canoe ventured on its waves, it washed the continents as now; and before animals dwelt in its bosom, it covered with its waters the face of this youthful sphere. Then as now it had a signification independent of its form and of its relation with the rest of the material world: it was the Ocean majestic and powerful as at this day. To comprehend it in all its grandeur, in all the extent of its influence, it is not enough to study it in its present form and its actual condition; we must study the Ocean in its history and in its development.

The doctrine that the Ocean is the germ or point of departure of all things, a doctrine announced in the old cosmogonies and laid down as a principle in the philosophical schools of the Greeks, is now demonstrated by the results of geological research. In short, geology teaches us not only that the relations of the continents with the Ocean have been different at different geological epochs, but in going back through the geological ages we come to an epoch when, according to all appearances, the solid earth did not exist, and when the surface of our globe was entirely covered with water. This was the period of "chaos"—a term which does not by any means imply confusion, but merely the absence of separation, a general homogeneousness containing the principles of all the elements which were thenceforth to be developed; and in this sense an egg is a chaos—though it contains the elements of the young chicken hereafter to be developed.

The materials which form the greater part of the solid land were prepared in the bosom of the waters. As we trace on a geological chart the successive formations which we know are of aquatic origin, we commonly arrive at a point where what are now entire countries are represented by only a few islands. Little by little these islands become enlarged, the spaces which separate them become filled up, and vast tracts of firm land appear to-day where once the Ocean reigned as absolute master. This is not the place to inquire what part has been

performed by the different physical agents in the history of the formation of the continents: to do this it would be necessary to enter the department of Geology, and to discuss anew the old questions so often agitated by the geologists, and which at the beginning of this century gave rise to the celebrated controversy between the Vulcanists and the Neptunists.

Leaving out of sight for a moment the agents which have built up the continents, we assume as a fact, that from the time when the solid earth first existed, it must enter into opposition with the liquid element and occasion a series of actions and reactions, which not only constitute the peculiar characteristic of various portions of the earth, but are the conditions of all terrestrial life. It is enough for us to remind the reader that by means of evaporation, which continually takes place at the surface, the Ocean constantly imparts a portion of its waters to the atmosphere, which is again precipitated on the firm land in the form of rain and dew, thus facilitating the development of animal and vegetable life, which could not subsist without this supply. Consequently, to remove the Ocean from the face of the globe would be not only to put to death all the inhabitants of the sea; it would be to extinguish all life on the surface of the firm land, and consequently to destroy its signification.

It is thus that the continents, which, geologically speaking, are the descendants of the Ocean, after their birth are dependent thereon, and are never entirely emancipated from its control. Even the desert, which never receives a drop of rain, is not independent of the Ocean; arid as its soil may be and burning as is its air, nevertheless it receives a certain quantity of moisture from the sea, and without this it would be completely impenetrable.

But this is not the only action of the Ocean upon the land: it acts directly thereon by modifying the form of its shores. We need only cast our eyes on any portion of the sea-coast, to discover more or less striking marks of oceanic action. Sometimes promontories are washed away by the violence of the waves, bays are filled up; here islands disappear, there new islands rise up. In one word, there is a continual change going forward in the form of the shore or in the depth of the water.

In general, the attention of man is chiefly directed to the destructive power of the Ocean. The invasions of the Ocean, the ravages of every sort which it commits, are mentioned in

many documents. These effects are certainly the most striking. Sometimes, in the course of years, we see the shore give way, and the sea sweep off tracts of land which formerly were cultivated and dwelt upon. A man who has seen his field vanish before his eyes, and even his habitation disappear, long remembers this disaster, which he cannot separate from the idea of the Ocean. Even men of science, geologists and geographers, when treating of the Ocean, have preferred to speak of its destructive power. There is no work of Geology in which mention is not made of the destructive action of the sea, as one of the causes which sensibly modify the form of the land. The history of certain countries—of Holland, for example—is a struggle between man and the Ocean; it is probable that without this struggle, which has stimulated the national activity, this people, now placed under such unfavorable conditions, would never have attained their present power and well-being.

But in addition to these hostile and destructive influences of the Ocean, there are others, which, though less striking because slow and gradual in their action, are not less but much more important. We wish to speak of those accumulations of materials on certain parts of the shore, which form flats, fill up bays, obstruct the coast, and thus render the navigation difficult. This slow but powerful action of the sea, which has been called its constructive action, in opposition to its destructive force, may be observed on the shores of all the continents, but especially where the coast is composed of movable materials. The influence of this constructive action is not limited to the shores, where the sea and land come in contact, but makes itself felt to a considerable distance from the land, in the basins and shoals whose existence has been verified by the maritime surveys. A similar action is going on throughout the whole length of the coast of the United States, and if its effects are not well known, it is because the phenomenon is on so grand a scale, and, having the whole Ocean for its stage of action, its time must be proportionate to the extent of its field of operation.

In a country composed of movable materials,—like the coast of the United States, or of the north of Europe,—if any one were to compare the form and structure of the coast with the form and contour of the bottom of the adjacent sea as it appears from the surface when the sea is calm, and as it appears, on a larger scale, from the soundings, he cannot fail

to be struck with the remarkable similarity. There are the same peculiarities, the same contrasts, the same undulations, with the ridges, the valleys, the table-lands, and the plains; so that the observer is naturally led to the conclusion that the land has formerly been covered with water. This conclusion nowhere presents itself more forcibly than in the vicinity of low lands like Long Island and the Keys of Florida, and it is generally, and, as it were, instinctively admitted.

The means which Nature puts in action in her submarine constructions are of a various character, and deserve a particular and special attention. In the tropical seas, where life is so intense, it is the Polypes, that is to say, small and often microscopic beings, who take charge of these gigantic constructions. The Keys of Florida have, for the most part, been formed by their agency. In the temperate or cold regions where animals do not exist, the arrangement of the submarine constructions is more particularly the work of physical agents, of currents and tides. This is a subject of the highest importance, which has not received all the attention it deserves. It is quite recently that it has, for the first time, been made the subject of some investigations on our own shores. We hope to return to this matter on some other occasion; at present, we go no further than merely to mention, as a general fact, the striking resemblance which exists between the form and direction of the tides and the distribution of those oceanic constructions which we designate by the terms banks and shallow basins.

We shall form an idea of the importance of those oceanic agencies if we consider that the submarine structures attributed to their influence are not confined merely to the vicinity of the shore, but extend to a considerable distance from it. A proof of this is furnished by the vast banks which are found at the northeastern extremity of the American continent, by the basins of Newfoundland, by Green Bank, by Sable Bank, etc., etc. If all parts of these great banks, as we must believe, are formed of movable materials, like the sand-banks nearer the shore, it is evident that their structure and their mode of formation are of the highest importance in the study of similar deposits which at the present time are above water, and which, at an earlier period, have been formed and elevated in the same manner by the agency of the Ocean. One day, perhaps, the mass of movable materials which we are acquainted with under the name of submarine basins, will rise



from the bosom of the Ocean, after having long been the abode of a marine population, to serve as a dwelling place for the tribes of earth; then the geologist of those future ages, going about with his hammer and pick-axe in hand to explore the bosom of this new land, will perhaps be a prey to the same doubts and the same uncertainties as ourselves, and experience the same delights, while they find in those new domains, in a soil at present in the process of construction, some new fact, some relations hitherto unperceived, which permit them to connect their epoch with former ages, and in those new realms to discover the same infinite Providence which in our time and all preceding ages has presided over the destinies of our globe.

Thus, to comprehend the structure and the form of the soil we inhabit, we are obliged to go back to the Ocean. There in the great deep, which is the laboratory of continents, unhappily our knowledge of the form and the connection of the different submarine elevations, is exceedingly imperfect. Hitherto the minds of men have been preoccupied to such a degree with the idea that they are dangerous to navigation, that we may say of them what the old poets were wont to say of the infernal regions, that they were more dreaded than known. However, we have reason to hope that the pilgrims of the sea, who follow one another with so laudable a zeal along the shores of the two continents, — thanks to the liberal and enlightened ideas which begin to prevail with governments, — will not fail to initiate us more and more into the mystery of those grand operations which take place in silence at the bottom of the sea.

In another article, we will make a more detailed investigation into the agencies of Nature in these oceanic constructions, and applying these principles to the configuration of the soil, we will show what has been done by the Ocean in the formation of the continents, and what is due to mere telluric causes.

ART. III. — *The History of England, from the Accession of James II.* By T. B. MACAULAY, Esq. London. 1848-9. 2 vols. 8vo.

PERHAPS there is no period in the annals of mankind of more interest to Englishmen and Americans than the one comprised in the plan of Macaulay's history, from the accession of James the Second till near the present time, and certainly no one standing in so much need of a good historian. We know of no good history of England for the last one hundred and sixty years, since the termination of Hume's. When it was understood that Macaulay had undertaken his work, it was a subject of general congratulation. All were pleased that so important and difficult a work had fallen to the lot of perhaps the only man of the age who was supposed to have the learning and genius required for the task.

Mr. Macaulay is well known as the most popular and able reviewer of the present or perhaps of any past time. Many of his articles in the *Edinburgh Review* are of permanent value, and have been republished here in a separate work. There may be articles in that Review that display more profound and exact knowledge in some departments, but there are none so eagerly sought for, none that combine so much varied and extensive information on subjects of general interest, presented in so popular and captivating a style.

It is rare that any man combines so many essential qualifications and so many accidental advantages for writing a history of England. In addition to great learning and talent as an author, he is eminently a practical man, well acquainted with the world and its affairs. His public life for many years as a member of Parliament and a part of the time one of the Ministry and of the Cabinet, has made him intimately acquainted with politicians and statesmen, and given him an opportunity of knowing from his own experience how the business of government is carried on. We believe, too, that he had the reputation of being one of the best speakers in the House of Commons, and combines the powers of speaking well and writing well, so rarely found united since the days of Cicero.

This work is more entertaining, and contains more of what we wish to know, than any other history of the times; though it appears to us that the author is sometimes liable to the charge of prolixity, and dwells too long in illustrating a propo-

sition and in narration and description. The characters of eminent men are delineated with great skill and much life, but are sometimes drawn out to an immoderate length. He seems desirous to give a view so full and complete of every part of his subject, as not only to prevent the possibility of being misunderstood, but also to save the reader all the trouble of thinking or making any conclusions for himself. Nothing can be more opposite to the manner of Tacitus, though they agree in one respect—in fondness for point and antithesis.

His style is clear and pointed, as well as beautiful and brilliant. Perhaps the splendor is not always genuine, and sometimes, contrary to the rhetorical maxim, resembles that of tinsel rather than the brightness of polished steel.

The extent and minuteness of his knowledge of facts are indeed wonderful, and we know not where to find any thing like it in any readable English history. His impartiality, a quality so essential to the historian, in his account of the different religious sects and political parties, is very conspicuous. The Church of Rome and the Church of England, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers, are brought in review before him, and their errors and faults exposed with a bold and unsparing hand. We think he endeavours to preserve the same impartiality between the Cavaliers and Roundheads, and the Whigs and Tories. But we imagine that the zealous partisans of all the religious sects will be dissatisfied with his account of their conduct and principles, and that no political party will be entirely satisfied, unless it be the moderate, aristocratic Whigs.

If we were to object at all to his views of parties and sects, it would be that he may not have done full justice to the religious or political principles of the Independents, the only sect of that day that seems to have had any just notions of religious freedom or toleration. It was the Independents alone who prevented the Presbyterians, at the termination of the Civil War, from establishing a system of religious intolerance and persecution as odious as that from which they had just been delivered. Cromwell, Vane, Selden, and Milton were for liberty of conscience and toleration in religious worship. The Presbyterians wished to succeed the ecclesiastical tyrants whom the joint arms of the Independents and Presbyterians had recently overthrown. Milton had just reason to complain that

“New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.”

The first three chapters, including the greater part of the first volume, are introductory, intended to prepare the reader for beginning the history with the reign of James the Second. The first chapter contains a rapid sketch of English history from the earliest times to the Restoration, or accession of Charles the Second. He dwells a little more at length on the contest between Charles and the parliament, the Civil War, the administration of Cromwell, and the Restoration.

The second chapter is devoted to the reign of Charles the Second, a knowledge of which is indispensable to a good understanding of the reign of James, and of the revolution which hurled the Stuarts from the throne of England, and condemned them to perpetual exile.

The third chapter contains a description at length of the times when the crown passed from Charles the Second to James, and a comparison between that and its present condition. It contains a view of the very great advance which has been made in almost all the particulars thought most desirable in national prosperity and the well-being of individuals, including a high degree of physical, moral, and intellectual improvement.

This description has been mentioned as being out of place in a history, but we think it the most important as well as entertaining in the whole work, the one we should be most unwilling to spare. Voltaire justly complains that "the history of Europe in his time was grown to an endless register of marriages, genealogies, and disputed titles, which render the narrative obscure and unentertaining, at the same time that they stifle the memory of great events, together with the knowledge of laws and manners, objects more worthy of attention." Whatever may be the defects of his historical productions, Voltaire has the great merit of leading the way in the attention now commonly paid by historical writers to laws, manners, and customs, to the progress of the liberal and useful arts, and especially to the condition of the people. The attention of the reader is no longer exclusively directed to kings and princes, ministers, ambassadors, and generals, as if all the rest of the world were of no consequence to the historian or reader.

Mr. Macaulay has on the whole, we think, been very successful in this account, and has given a very picturesque description of the condition of England one hundred and sixty years ago, and a very favorable one of England at present. We are not disposed to call in question the general fidelity of



these pictures, but we think the former is somewhat overcharged, and the latter may, perhaps, be deemed a little flattering. Indeed, we think it must be apparent to most readers, that some exaggeration in description is not very uncommon with Macaulay. We do not mention this as detracting from the general merit of the work, and if there is occasionally any exaggeration in his descriptions, or error in his conclusions, we think that the author, by a full and accurate statement of all the facts that can be ascertained, generally affords the intelligent reader the means of forming a correct opinion for himself. Some traces are occasionally visible of the rhetorician and of the eloquent debater in the House of Commons; sometimes he discusses questions in the style of an advocate for one party, but in these the decision is commonly that of the calm and impartial historian.

The following is the character of Cranmer, the principal founder of the English church and one of its chief martyrs, and considered the leader of the Protestant party.

“The man who took the chief part in settling the conditions of the alliance which produced the Anglican Church was Thomas Cranmer. He was the representative of both the parties, which, at that time, needed each other's assistance. He was at once a divine and a statesman. In his character of divine he was perfectly ready to go as far in the way of change as any Swiss or Scottish reformer. In his character of statesman he was desirous to preserve that organization which had, during many ages, admirably served the purposes of the bishops of Rome, and might be expected now to serve equally well the purposes of the English kings and of their ministers. His temper and his understanding eminently fitted him to act as mediator. Saintly in his professions, unscrupulous in his dealings, zealous for nothing, bold in speculation, a coward and a time-server in action, a placable enemy and a lukewarm friend, he was in every way qualified to arrange the terms of the coalition between the religious and the worldly enemies of popery.

“To this day, the constitution, the doctrines, and the services of the Church retain the visible marks of the compromise from which she sprang. She occupies a middle position between the churches of Rome and Geneva. Her doctrinal confessions and discourses, composed by Protestants, set forth principles of theology in which Calvin or Knox would have found scarcely a word to disapprove. Her prayers and thanksgivings, derived from the ancient Liturgies, are very generally such that Bishop Fisher or Cardinal Pole might have heartily joined in them. A controversialist who puts

an Arminian sense on her articles and homilies will be pronounced by candid men to be as unreasonable as a controversialist who denies that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration can be discovered in her Liturgy.

"The Church of Rome held that episcopacy was of divine institution, and that certain supernatural graces of a high order had been transmitted by the imposition of hands through fifty generations, from the eleven who received their commission on the Galilean Mount to the bishops who met at Trent. A large body of Protestants, on the other hand, regarded prelacy as positively unlawful, and persuaded themselves that they found a very different form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in Scripture. The founders of the Anglican Church took a middle course. They retained episcopacy, but they did not declare it to be an institution essential to the welfare of a Christian society, or to the efficacy of the sacraments. Cranmer, indeed, plainly avowed his conviction that, in the primitive times, there was no distinction between bishops and priests, and that the laying on of hands was altogether unnecessary."

This view of the doctrines and services of the church reminds one of the saying of Lord Chatham, that "the Church of England has a Calvinistic creed, an Arminian clergy, and a Popish Liturgy." According to Bishop Hare, the principal difference between the Church of Rome and the Church of England is, that "the one is infallible, and the other never in the wrong." In respect to the divine origin of Episcopacy and the apostolic succession, the English church now approaches nearer to that of Rome than in the days of Cranmer.

The present orthodox belief of the high churchmen we believe to be, that the Church of England, with its hierarchy, its Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and inferior clergy, affords the nearest resemblance to the primitive church in the time of the apostles.

The Church of England has been always strongly attached to the sovereign, its supreme head. The extravagance of this attachment and the slavish doctrines taught by the clergy are thus stated by Macaulay.

"The Church of England was not ungrateful for the protection which she received from the government. From the first day of her existence she had been attached to monarchy; but, during the quarter of a century which followed the Restoration, her zeal for royal authority and hereditary right passed all bounds. She had suffered with the house of Stuart. She had been restored with that house. She was connected with it by common interests,

friendships, and enmities. It seemed impossible that a day could ever come when the ties which bound her to the children of her august martyr would be sundered, and when the loyalty in which she gloried would cease to be a pleasing and profitable duty. She accordingly magnified in fulsome praise that prerogative which was constantly employed to defend and to aggrandize her, and reprobated, much at her ease, the depravity of those whom oppression, from which she was exempt, had goaded to rebellion. Her favorite theme was the doctrine of non-resistance. That doctrine she taught without any qualification, and followed out to all its extreme consequences. Her disciples were never weary of repeating that in no conceivable case, not even if England were cursed with a king resembling Busiris or Phalaris, who, in defiance of law, and without the pretence of justice, should daily doom hundreds of innocent victims to torture and death, would all the estates of the realm united be justified in withstanding his tyranny by physical force. Happily, the principles of human nature afford abundant security that such theories will never be more than theories. The day of trial came, and the very men who had most loudly and most sincerely professed this extravagant loyalty were, in almost every county of England, arrayed in arms against the throne."

"The restored church contended against the prevailing immorality, but contended feebly, and with half a heart. It was necessary to the decorum of her character that she should admonish her erring children. But her admonitions were given in a somewhat perfunctory manner. Her attention was elsewhere engaged. Her whole soul was in the work of crushing the Puritans, and of teaching her disciples to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's. She had been pillaged and oppressed by the party which preached an austere morality. She had been restored to opulence and honor by libertines. Little as the men of mirth and fashion were disposed to shape their lives according to her precepts, they were yet ready to fight kneedeep in blood for her cathedrals and palaces, for every line of her rubric, and every thread of her vestments. . . . It is an unquestionable and most instructive fact, that the years during which the political power of the Anglican hierarchy was in the zenith, were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point."

The immorality, profligacy, and total want of principle among the higher classes, in the reign of Charles the Second, and especially of the most active and leading politicians, seem almost incredible. We have a striking, and, we suppose, a pretty correct description of the general character of the public men in England at the Restoration, which, to a great extent, was applicable for more than half a century afterwards.

"Scarcely any rank or profession escaped the infection of the prevailing immorality: but those persons who made politics their business, were perhaps the most corrupt part of the corrupt society; for they were exposed not only to the same noxious influences which affected the nation generally, but also to a taint of a peculiar and most malignant kind. Their character had been formed amid frequent and violent revolutions and counter-revolutions. In the course of a few years they had seen the ecclesiastical and civil polity of their country repeatedly changed. They had seen an Episcopal church persecuting Puritans, a Puritan church persecuting Episcopalians, and an Episcopal church persecuting Puritans again. They had seen hereditary monarchy abolished and restored. They had seen the Long Parliament thrice supreme in the state and thrice dissolved amid the curses and laughter of millions. They had seen a new dynasty rapidly rising to the height of power and glory, and then, on a sudden, hurled down from the chair of state without a struggle. They had seen a new representative system devised, tried, and abandoned. They had seen a new House of Lords created and scattered. They had seen great masses of property violently transferred from Cavaliers to Roundheads, and from Roundheads back to Cavaliers. During these events, no man could be a stirring and thriving politician who was not prepared to change with every change of fortune. It was only in retirement that any person could long keep the character either of a steady Royalist or of a steady Republican. One who, in such an age, is determined to attain civil greatness, must renounce all thoughts of consistency. Instead of affecting immutability in the midst of endless mutation, he must always be on the watch for the indications of a coming reaction. He must seize the exact moment for deserting a falling cause. Having gone all lengths with a faction while it was uppermost, he must extricate himself from it when its difficulties begin; must assail it, must persecute it, must enter on a new career of power and prosperity in company with new associates. His situation naturally develops in him to the highest degree a peculiar class of abilities and a peculiar class of vices. He becomes quick of observation and fertile of resource. He catches without effort the tone of any sect or party with which he chances to mingle. He discerns the signs of the times with a sagacity which to the multitude appears miraculous; with a sagacity resembling that with which a veteran police officer pursues the faintest indications of crime, or with which a Mohawk warrior follows a track through the woods. But we shall seldom find, in a statesman so trained, integrity, constancy, or any of the virtues of the noble family of Truth. He has no faith in any doctrine, no zeal for any cause. He has seen so many old institutions swept away, that he has no reverence for prescription. He has



seen so many new institutions from which much had been expected produce mere disappointment, that he has no hope of improvement. He sneers alike at those who are anxious to preserve and those who are eager to reform. There is nothing in the state which he could not, without a scruple or a blush, join in defending or in destroying. Fidelity to opinions and to friends seems to him mere dulness and wrong-headedness. Politics he regards, not as a science of which the object is the happiness of mankind, but as an exciting game of mixed chance and skill, at which a dextrous and lucky player may win an estate, a coronet, perhaps a crown, and at which one rash move may lead to the loss of fortune and of life. Ambition, which in good times and in good minds is half a virtue, now, disjoined from every elevated and philanthropic sentiment, becomes a selfish cupidity scarcely less ignoble than avarice. Among those politicians who, from the Restoration to the accession of the House of Hanover were at the head of the great parties in the state, very few can be named whose reputation is not stained by what in our age would be called gross perfidy and corruption. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the most unprincipled public men who have taken part in affairs within our memory, would, if tried by the standard which was in fashion during the latter part of the seventeenth century, deserve to be regarded as scrupulous and disinterested."

Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland and ancestor of the present Duke of Marlborough and of Earl Spencer, was one of the most thorough-going politicians of this class. He twice changed his religion to please the court, was concerned in many of the worst measures of Charles and James, and was a successful courtier and favorite minister of William.

"Sunderland was Secretary of State. In this man the political immorality of his age was personified in the most lively manner. Nature had given him a keen understanding, a restless and mischievous temper, a cold heart, and an abject spirit. His mind had undergone a training by which all his vices had been nursed up to the rankest maturity. At his entrance into public life, he had passed several years in diplomatic posts abroad, and had been, during some time, minister in France. Every calling has its peculiar temptations. There is no injustice in saying that diplomatists, as a class, have always been more distinguished by their address, by the art with which they win the confidence of those with whom they have to deal, and by the ease with which they catch the tone of every society into which they are admitted, than by generous enthusiasm or austere rectitude; and the relations between Charles and Louis were such that no English no-

bleman could long reside in France as envoy, and retain any patriotic or honorable sentiment. Sunderland came forth from the bad school in which he had been brought up, cunning, supple, shameless, free from all prejudices, and destitute of all principles. He was, by hereditary connection, a Cavalier; but with the Cavaliers he had nothing in common. They were zealous for monarchy, and condemned in theory all resistance; yet they had sturdy English hearts, which would never have endured real despotism. He, on the contrary, had a languid, speculative liking for Republican institutions, which was compatible with perfect readiness to be in practice the most servile instrument of arbitrary power. Like many other accomplished flatterers and negotiators, he was far more skilful in the art of reading the characters and practising on the weaknesses of individuals, than in the art of discerning the feelings of great masses and of foreseeing the approach of great revolutions. He was adroit in intrigue; and it was difficult even for shrewd and experienced men, who had been amply forewarned of his perfidy, to withstand the fascination of his manner, and to refuse credit to his professions of attachment; but he was so intent on observing and courting particular persons, that he forgot to study the temper of the nation. He therefore miscalculated grossly with respect to all the most momentous events of his time. Every important movement and rebound of the public mind took him by surprise; and the world, unable to understand how so clever a man could be blind to what was clearly discerned by the politicians of the coffee-houses, sometimes attributed to deep design what were, in truth, mere blunders."

The causes assigned by Macaulay had no doubt much influence in producing the decline of public and private virtue, but yet seem hardly sufficient to account for the great immorality said to be so generally prevalent. Hume says, that "never was a people less corrupted by vice and more actuated by principle than the English at the beginning of the Civil War. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, it would seem that the proposition might be almost reversed." There is probably some exaggeration in both cases; but there can be no doubt of a great decline in public and private morals, and a great prevalence of immorality and corruption at the latter period.

We suppose it to be true that there has been a very great change for the better in the moral and political character of public men in England since the reign of Charles the Second. The improved morals in private life, on which Macaulay dwells with some complacency, the diffusion of intelligence, and the

much greater force of public opinion, have had a very beneficial influence on the conduct of the English politicians and statesmen. This improvement may be considered as one of the most favorable symptoms of the times in England.

The kings of the house of Stuart seem to have been an incorrigible race, incapable of discerning the signs of the times or of improving by prosperity or adversity. Called by the English law of succession to the noblest inheritance in the world, they supposed their right to the throne was derived from Heaven, not from the consent of the people; that they were invested by God with absolute power, for the exercise of which they were accountable to Him alone. In a word, that they had

“The right divine of kings to govern wrong;”

a right which they strenuously attempted to put in practice so long as they had the power.

James the First had some learning, with much pedantry, and endeavoured to prove, from reason and Scripture, the divine and absolute power of the throne. The Duke of Sully pronounced him to be the wisest fool in Europe.

Charles the First had more capacity, firmness, and perseverance than his father, and was more bent upon the establishment of arbitrary power. His design included the American colonies as well as his dominions in Europe. Only six years after he had granted the charter of Massachusetts, he determined to revoke it, and established a commission, at the head of which was Archbishop Laud, with absolute authority over the colonies in all cases, civil and religious. This board or commission were authorized to make laws and ordinances in all cases, especially for the support of the Episcopal clergy, by tythes, oblations, and other profits accruing, to make and unmake governors, to constitute such civil and ecclesiastical tribunals and courts of justice, with such powers as they should judge proper, and to revoke any charters or letters patent, prejudicial to the crown.

Had Charles been able to carry this plan into execution, we should have had our High Commission and Star Chamber in America, and not a vestige of civil or religious liberty would have been suffered to remain. The controversy between the king and parliament, which broke out soon after, gave the king and archbishop sufficient occupation at home, and saved the liberties of New England. If England, as most of her

writers say, owes her freedom to the Puritans and Long Parliament, it is not less true as to her American colonies.

The character of Charles the Second is drawn with much force and vivacity, and we suppose in its true colors. This most worthless and profligate prince was for a time more popular than any of his predecessors. There is one trait in his character, however, not mentioned by Macaulay; we mean his special regard for daring and atrocious villains.

The case of Blood, who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Ormond, the first nobleman in the kingdom, and most zealous friend and supporter of the Stuart family, is a signal instance. In his attempt Blood almost succeeded. He had committed other capital crimes, besides the robbery of the crown and regalia from the Tower. Yet this audacious criminal was not only pardoned by Charles, but became a favorite companion of the king and an influential courtier, whose interest was solicited by applicants for court favors, and was rewarded by Charles with the grant of a considerable estate in Ireland.

Morgan, the most noted of all the pirates or buccaneers in the West Indies, was distinguished by Charles with the honor of knighthood.

The infamous and savage Colonel Kirke affords another instance. Charles, near the close of his reign, appointed Kirke, who had been notorious for his tyranny and cruelties at Tangier, to be governor of New England, with absolute authority. This was soon after Massachusetts had been illegally deprived of her charter, so that there would have been no security against the barbarity of Kirke. But James, when he came to the crown, did not wish to part with one whose disposition was so congenial with his own, and who was so well fitted for his arbitrary and cruel designs. Instead of Kirke, Sir Edmund Andros was sent as governor to New England, a tyrant indeed, but not quite so atrocious as Kirke.

As to James the Second, his conduct in Scotland and in England showed a love of arbitrary power and a delight in persecution and cruelty. A bigoted papist himself, he instituted a savage persecution against the Scottish Presbyterians and Puritans for not conforming to the church of England. In this persecution thousands perished by the sword, famine, or imprisonment, and many thousand families were utterly ruined. And what was the object of this persecution? Not to convert them to what he believed to be the true religion, but



to make them change from one false religion to another, that he believed to be equally false. The same remark applies, in some degree, to his brother Charles, in the persecutions of the dissenters in England, as he was secretly a Roman Catholic. Perhaps, however, it may be doing them some injustice to suppose that they were actuated by any worse motives than other persecutors, though a little more inconsistent. As we believe all persecution arises from bad motives, we do not feel certain that Charles and James were any worse in this respect than their contemporaries of the established church, who instigated and were actively engaged in carrying on these persecutions.

But for their conduct in church and state both Charles and James may have some excuse in the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance, so diligently inculcated by the Church, as we have just seen, and also by the Parliament and the University of Oxford. To a sovereign inclined to tyranny and persecution, there can be no stronger temptation than the assurance that he can indulge his bad passions with impunity. This assurance the Church, the Parliament, and the University of Oxford zealously endeavoured to furnish.

The first parliament chosen after the Restoration passed an act, that the power of the sword was solely in the king, and declared that in no extremity whatever could the Parliament be justified in resisting him by force.

By another act all magistrates and officers of corporations were required to declare on oath their belief that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, and their abhorrence of the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those *commissioned* by him. A motion to insert the word *lawfully* before "commissioned" was rejected.

The University of Oxford in full convocation passed a decree "against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and all human society."

The doctrines condemned consist of twenty-seven propositions taken from the works of Milton, Buchanan, Owen, Baxter, and several others. One of these damnable propositions is, "That when kings subvert the constitution of their country, and become absolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be resisted." This and other sim-

ilar propositions, they declare to be "impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the Christian religion." They forbid the students to read the writings of those authors, and order their books to be burnt.

One would suppose that the Parliament, the Church, and University of Oxford were rife for slavery. Charles and James had some excuse for taking them at their word.

The history of this period has a peculiar interest for Americans, as being essentially connected with their own. The revolution of 1688 was not less a deliverance from arbitrary power for New England than for Old. The tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros had become so insupportable that he was deposed and imprisoned, before the success of the revolution was known here.

But though the Revolution was a great blessing to the colonies, yet some of them had much reason to complain of the government under the new settlement. Massachusetts could not obtain a restoration of her charter, though deprived of it by a judgment acknowledged to be illegal and unjust. Sir Edmund Andros, so noted as a tyrant in Massachusetts, was rewarded by being sent out as governor of Virginia. The Habeas Corpus Act, so essential to freedom, was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, but was disallowed and repealed by the committee of plantations, at the head of which was the famous Lord Somers. It seems to have been the opinion of this great constitutional lawyer that the English act of Habeas Corpus did not extend to the colonies, and that they could not have this security of freedom except from the bounty of the crown.

The character of William of Orange, the great hero of the Revolution, the idol of the Whigs, and, in former times, the detestation of the Tories, is drawn at great length, and in the most favorable colors. He seems, indeed, with some faults and disagreeable qualities, to have been on the whole the best and most able of the great public men of the age. He was tolerant and liberal in his views of religion and church establishments—a great merit in that age. A wise and far-sighted statesman, with an invincible courage and perseverance in a contest which was the cause not only of England and Holland, but of the greater part of Europe, against the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth. Macaulay in this case, as well as some others, has availed himself of important sources of infor-

mation which do not seem to have been known to any other historian, and attributes to him more amiable qualities than William was supposed to possess.

A very different picture is given of him by the Tories, which we quote merely as showing the extravagance of party zeal. Dr. Johnson, according to Boswell, pronounced William to be the most worthless of all scoundrels. But then it is to be recollected that the Doctor had an extraordinary veneration for Charles the Second. Smollett's character of William contains more point and vivacity than is often found in his history, and probably shows the sentiments of the ultra Tories of that age. The following is Smollett's view of the government of William :

"Certain it is, he involved these kingdoms in foreign connections which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favorite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds ; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words — William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign."

The account of William Penn's intimacy with James, and his concern in some acts of oppression by the king, his courtiers, and court-ladies, will excite much surprise, and probably resentment in some quarters. If the charges are true, it is proper they should be made known. If they are unfounded, the Quakers and Pennsylvanians are abundantly able to vindicate his character. His reputation would bear a considerable reduction, and yet leave him one of the best among the distinguished politicians of his age.

Macaulay says that it had been the practice of every English government to contract debts. What the Revolution introduced was the practice of honestly paying them.

This process of honestly paying the national debts has been extremely slow in its operation. At the Revolution the national

debt was but little more than one million sterling, it is now about eight hundred millions. It is true that the interest has been punctually paid, the public credit is good, and any creditor who chooses may receive payment by transferring his claim to another. The debt, however, still remains a burden on the property and industry of the nation. Hume, in his essay on Public Credit says, that it would scarcely be more imprudent to give a prodigal son a credit in every banker's shop in London, than to empower a statesman to draw bills in this manner upon posterity.

"The establishment of a public credit fruitful of marvels, which would have seemed incredible to the statesmen of any former age," is enumerated among the blessings of the new settlement. This is rather a delicate way of treating the national debt. To the statesmen of any former age, the ability to contract such a debt, and the folly of doing it, might have seemed equally incredible. If nations contract debts they should honestly pay them. But we can hardly deem it a cause for congratulation, that the government have been able to incur this enormous debt, with an annual interest of thirty millions, "so burdensome, still paying, still to owe," and to mortgage it upon the lands, property, and industry of the nation for ever; if not for ever, at least for a duration to which the eye of man can see no limit.

The national debt has been mentioned as one of the great evils produced by the Revolution, as a part of the price the nation had to pay for the new settlement made by discarding the Stuarts and calling in William, and to defray the expense of the wars necessary to support him on the throne.

Unfortunately, the ministry and moneyed class found their own private interests promoted by thus anticipating the incomes of future generations. The ministry, to avoid the odium of imposing the taxes really necessary, or because they wanted a fund for influence and corruption, were willing to borrow money on terms profitable to the lenders, and leave it to their successors to provide for the payment. Washington, in his farewell address, with his characteristic wisdom and justice, cautions the people of the United States against "ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear."

As our author, in stating the purpose and objects of his work, must be supposed to express his meaning with some accuracy, we will, at the risk of being thought hypercritical, make a remark on the expression applied to the British navy.



"A maritime power, before which every other maritime power, ancient or modern, sinks into insignificance." This is another of the glories of England, the boast of every Englishman. Comparisons are apt to be odious, and some discretion is required to manage them without giving offence. It would be idle to deny the great power of the British navy, and that its strength is superior to every other; but we doubt the propriety or prudence of this boast; nations, like individuals, do not like to be reminded of their *insignificance*, and neither France, Russia, nor America will admit the correctness of the estimate here made by Macaulay of their naval power.

A short time prior to the last war with England, it was said in parliament, that a single English sloop of war, or frigate, (we forget which) was able to cope with the whole American navy. This was soon found to be an error. In case of any future war between the two countries (which may Heaven avert,) the American navy would be found not entirely insignificant. De Tocqueville, the distinguished author and statesman, who, of all foreign writers, has given on the whole the best account of our country, its institutions and prospects, devotes a chapter to what he calls the commercial greatness of America, and closes with this paragraph:

"I think that the principal features in the destiny of a nation, as of an individual, are generally indicated by their early youth. When I see with what spirit the Americans carry on commerce, the facilities they enjoy, and the success they have met with, I cannot avoid believing that they will one day become the first maritime power on the globe. They are destined to acquire the dominion of the seas, as the Romans were to conquer the world."

Now we confess that we do not entirely like this, and do not wish that our own country, or any other, should be any stronger at sea than is necessary for its own security and the defence of its just rights at home and abroad.

Macaulay seems much of an optimist in politics. Whatever happens is for the best, if not for the present, at least in the long run. The reign of the sovereigns commonly deemed the worst proved to be the greatest blessings. The talents and virtues of the first Norman kings had nearly proved fatal to England, but the follies and vices of John were her salvation. Again, if the administration of James the First had been able and splendid, it would probably have been fatal to the country.

Under the reign of his successor, Charles the First, there was another narrow escape. The laws and liberties of England, on the brink of destruction, were happily saved by the wanton and criminal attempt of Charles to force upon the Scots the English liturgy and established church. Another and final deliverance from tyranny by the folly and madness of James the Second. If the king had not attacked the Church, the institution most venerated by Englishmen, he would probably have been quietly permitted to prosecute his plan of establishing arbitrary power in the state.

This seeming propensity for paradox reminds one of Gibbon's remark upon the clergy, that to a philosophic mind their vices are far less dangerous than their virtues. A proposition which, by the way, we think is contradicted by all ecclesiastical history.

There is, however, some plausibility in these views of Macaulay, and in the instances mentioned and perhaps many others, they may be substantially just. How happy for a nation that, when brought to the brink of ruin, it has a perennial inexhaustible fountain of salvation in the follies, vices, and crimes of its rulers!

This disposition to look on the favorable side of things appears often throughout the work. Whether the Church or the laity have the ascendancy, it is all for the good of the nation, and she owes a great debt of gratitude both to Popery and Protestantism.

"It is difficult to say whether England owes more to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Reformation. For the amalgamation of races and for the abolition of villanage, she is chiefly indebted to the influence which the priesthood in the middle ages exercised over the laity. For political and intellectual freedom, and for all the blessings which political and intellectual freedom have brought in their train, she is chiefly indebted to the great rebellion of the laity against the priesthood."

The Long Parliament merits the lasting gratitude of Englishmen for their resistance to Charles the First, and thus saving the liberties of the country. The parliament that restored Charles the Second, without any conditions to limit his power, seized the golden opportunity, which, if lost, would have long been regretted by the friends of liberty, of placing on the throne this profligate monarch. After the two reigns of Charles and James, comprising nearly thirty years of oppression, persecu-

tion, and almost every kind of misgovernment, at home, besides a vassalage to France the most disgraceful in the annals of England, another parliament rescued the nation from Popery and tyranny by the total and final expulsion of the Stuarts.

There seems much reason to doubt the correctness of this view of the Restoration. Macaulay says that "It has been too much the practice of writers zealous for freedom, to represent the Restoration as a disastrous event, and to condemn the folly or baseness of that Convention which recalled the royal family without exacting new securities against mal-administration."

Mr. Fox, in his fragment of the History of the Reign of James the Second, severely condemns the conduct of those who, at the Restoration, made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a monarch, without a single provision in favor of the cause of liberty. Charles would have been glad to accept the crown on any terms. It must have been a strange crisis, indeed, that rendered it necessary for the salvation of the people, to place such a man as Charles upon the throne without a moment's delay, and without imposing any limitation on the royal prerogative.

Our author gives a description at considerable length of the state of England at the accession of James the Second, and compares it with the condition of England at present. The comparison, of course, is very much in favor of its present state, and the contrast is probably much greater in almost every respect than most readers could have supposed. The great physical, moral, and intellectual improvement, in every department, if truly represented, as we must presume was intended, is indeed a just cause of congratulation and thankfulness.

The political, social, and industrial system of England, since the Revolution, is probably better fitted than any system that has been tried, in the old world at least, for very many of the objects thought most desirable in national prosperity. It has been especially favorable to the acquisition of great wealth and rapid progress in the great departments of industry, in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, and in working the various mines, a very important branch in England.

The wealth of the great landholders, merchants, manufacturers, and the moneyed interest, is adequate to any interest or enterprise on the largest scale. With abundant capital, with

labor at a low rate to any extent wanted, and often in excess, skilfully organized and directed, the advance in every department of business and the increase of wealth are, we believe, altogether without example.

The population of England and Wales at that time is supposed to have been somewhat more than five millions, and less than one third of its present amount. The inhabitants of London, who are now at least nineteen hundred thousand, were then probably a little more than half a million.

In the reign of Charles the Second, after London no town in the kingdom contained thirty thousand inhabitants, and only four provincial towns contained so many as ten thousand. This statement we suppose may be true, but it is very surprising, especially when we consider the number of cities in the United States containing thirty thousand and upwards, and the great number containing more than ten thousand. Massachusetts alone has twice the number of towns containing ten thousand inhabitants.

The army and navy of Charles the Second were small compared with military and naval establishments in England at present. The whole annual expense of the army, navy, ordnance, effective and non-effective service, was then about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Now it is more than twenty times that amount.

It must be acknowledged that the government of the Stuarts was a very cheap one in a pecuniary view, compared with any the English have had since. Of all the advances made in the rapid march of improvement in England since the Revolution, the greatest advance has been in taxation and public expenditure !

If the well-being of a nation depended on the amount of its wealth, however unequally distributed, then England would be the happiest country in the world. But we believe the happiness of a people depends less on the amount, than on the general diffusion of property, so as to afford a comfortable livelihood, and the means of education and improvement to the laboring classes. If this be so, there is much cause for regret as well as congratulation in the present condition of Great Britain.

There are some principles in the English political and social system that are passed over in the work before us without much notice, which seem to us to merit consideration both as to their present effects and future tendency.



The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in his admirable chapter on the Roman or Civil Law, says, that "the insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown to the Romans. The two sexes were placed on a just level, and all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate."

Among the Athenians, the sons all shared equally the paternal inheritance. The daughters seem to have been left in a great measure, if not altogether, to the mercy or discretion of their brothers. In case there were no sons, the daughters inherited equally.

The law of primogeniture was not known to the Anglo-Saxons, but was introduced into England with the feudal system, by the Norman conquest. This principle, by which the oldest son alone inherits all the landed or real property, has been in force in England ever since, and has contributed more than any thing else to form the government and social system as they exist at the present day. It is the foundation and security of the aristocracy, of their power and influence in the state, and the advantages of their social position.

Primogeniture not only prevents the division of great estates, but, in connection with other causes, is continually diminishing the number of landed proprietors. It often happens that by the failure of heirs in great families, or the course of descent, or by purchase, that two or three great estates are united, and once united are never again divided.

This process is remarkably illustrated in the case of the present Duke of Sutherland. As this example shows better than any mere description could do, how a considerable number of even great estates may be united in one, we quote from the *London Quarterly Review* the following account of the Sutherland Estate and Improvements. The complacency with which the reviewer dwells on this accumulation, and his aristocratic tone and style, are somewhat amusing.

"The estate attached to the earldom of Sutherland (one of the oldest dignities in this empire) was supposed at the time when the late countess married Lord Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford, and finally created Duke of Sutherland, to comprise no less than 800,000 acres — a vast possession, but from which its owners had never derived more than a very small revenue. The Countess, a woman of remarkable talents, was enthusiastically attached to her ancestral district; and felt for its inhabitants of all orders, as was natural after a connection lost in the night of

ages, during which her house had enjoyed the support of their clansmen and vassals in many a struggle and danger. She had the spirit and heart of a genuine chieftainess; and the name of the Ban Mhoir-fhear Chattaibh — the Great Lady of the Country of the Clan Chattan — will be proudly and affectionately remembered in the Highlands of Scotland, many a year after the graceful Countess and Duchess is forgotten in the courts and palaces of which she was for a long period one of the most brilliant ornaments. To her English alliance, however, her lasting fame in her own district will be mainly due. Her lord inherited one very great fortune in this part of the kingdom, and ultimately wielded the resources of another not less productive; and though, as Mr. Loch's book records, no English nobleman ever did more for the improvement of his English estates, he also entered with the warmest zeal into his lady's feelings as to her ancient heritage: he added to it by purchase, various considerable adjoining estates, which fell from time to time into the market, and finally, in 1829, one neighbouring mass of land, the whole estate or *country* of Lord Reay, which alone comprised not much less than 500,000 acres. It appears that from 1829 the whole northern territory of the Duke must have amounted to nearly, if not quite 1,500,000 acres — a single estate certainly not in these days equalled in the British empire, and this in the hands of the same peer who enjoyed also the English estates of the Gowers and Levesons, with the canal property of the Bridgewater.

Here is the process on a great scale of extinguishing both large and small estates. This shows how landed proprietors are rapidly diminished in number, and enormous estates or principalities formed. In two generations, by marriage, by purchase, by inheritance and bequest, five very large and several considerable estates are united in one. In Scotland, to one great estate of 800,000 acres, is added another of 500,000, besides several others very considerable in extent. All this comes into the hands of the same peer who has three very great estates in England. The estate in Scotland alone is more than twice as large as the state of Rhode Island, and comprises in extent, though not in value, between a thirtieth and fortieth part of the territory of the island of Great Britain.

According to our author, at the accession of James the Second the number of small landed proprietors who cultivated their own estates, was, so far as can be ascertained from the best statistical writers of that age, not less than one hundred and sixty thousand, who with their families made up more

than a seventh part of the whole population. These small estates are now nearly all extinct. At that time the number who cultivated their own land was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others. Now it is estimated that not one hundredth part of the land in England is cultivated by the owner.

The enormous wealth produced by commerce and manufactures, instead of occasioning any division of the great landed estates, has had a directly opposite tendency. The rich merchant, manufacturer, banker, or fortunate speculator invests a part of his wealth in land, and as the very large estates are rarely for sale, he buys the smaller ones wherever they can be obtained, perhaps in several different counties. When a number of small, or moderate, or even large estates are thus formed into one, they are seldom or never separated.

This seems to be a melancholy, disastrous change in the social system of England, but we believe most of the British political economists not only see no cause of alarm in this extinction of the smaller landed properties, but consider it as one cause of the great agricultural improvements, and the great increase of national wealth. A few, however, among whom is John Stuart Mill, the author of the work on Political Economy, consider the English system as affording ground for apprehension, and view with some complacency the condition of the French agricultural population, four fifths of whom are said to cultivate their own land. But whether for good or evil, we suppose there can be no doubt of the fact, that by the operation of the causes mentioned, and perhaps of others, the number of landed proprietors has been for the last one hundred and sixty years continually diminishing, that nearly all the land is held by a comparatively small number of owners, and that the diminution is still going on as rapidly as ever. Indeed, according to all accounts, the process of the accumulation of large landed properties and the extinction of small ones is proceeding with a continually increasing velocity.

*Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.*

During the last few years we have heard much of the reforms in the English government, the progress of liberal principles, and the increasing power of popular opinion. It is supposed by many that the influence of the aristocracy is on the decline, that the common people have gained as the nobility and privileged orders have lost, so that the advantages

of English institutions are shared less unequally than formerly among the different classes of the community.

Popular opinion has no doubt much greater influence on the measures of government and the conduct of men in office, than during the last century. Whatever changes have been made to enlarge the political power of the people, and to relieve them from unnecessary and oppressive burdens, is to be ascribed chiefly to this cause. The privileged orders have parted with no portion of their power until they were convinced it was no longer possible to keep it. Notwithstanding these concessions to the popular demands, we think there is reason to doubt whether the aristocratic principle pervading the political and social institutions of England has been much, if at all, weakened. On the other hand, in several important respects the aristocracy appears stronger than ever.

The English government, at least ever since the revolution in 1638, has been practically an aristocracy of which the sovereign is the nominal head. Lord Brougham remarks that England is the most aristocratic nation in Europe, and a glance at English institutions will show how the aristocratic principle runs through them all.

The Reform Bill has enlarged the number of voters, and some changes have been made in favor of the popular principle in municipal corporations. But the aristocracy have the entire control of all the offices of honor and emolument in church and state, in the army and navy, at home and abroad.

The following extract from a late number of the *Edinburgh Review* presents a striking, and probably, so far as it goes, a just view of the political and social state of England.

“To a superficial glance at the condition of our own country, nothing can seem more unlike any tendency to equality of condition. The inequalities of property are apparently greater than in any former period of history. Nearly all the land is parcelled out in great estates among comparatively few families; and it is not the large but the small properties which are in process of extinction. An hereditary and titled nobility, more potent by their vast possessions than by their social precedency, are constitutionally and really one of the great powers in the state. To form part of their order is what every ambitious man aspires to as the crowning glory of a successful career. The passion for equality, of which M. de Tocqueville speaks almost as if it were the great fever of modern times, is hardly known in this country, even by name. On the contrary, all ranks seem to have a passion for



inequality. The hopes of every person are directed to rising in the world, not to pulling the world down to him. The greatest enemy of the political conduct of the House of Lords submits to their superiority of rank as he would to the ordinances of nature, and often thinks any amount of toil and watching repaid by a nod of recognition from one of their number."\*

In the army, the officers are taken from the nobility and gentry with hardly an exception. Commissions are generally obtained by purchase, and sometimes by the gift of the commander-in-chief. The price is beyond the ability of any but the rich, and rarely has any officer risen from the ranks. Should a rich parvenu take a fancy to a military life and buy a commission, woe to the unlucky wight. His treatment from the other officers would soon make him glad to sell or to resign a place where he is considered an intruder. The officers of the navy are generally taken from the same class.

The pay and prize-money in the army and navy are graduated on the same aristocratic scale. At the capture of Havana, in 1762, the distribution of the prize-money was as follows. Admiral Pococke commanding the naval forces had for his share upwards of £122,000; the captains, £1,600; lieutenants, £234; petty officers, £17; sailors and marines between three and four pounds. Lord Albemarle, commander of the land forces, had the same as the Admiral; the field officers, £564; captains, £164; private soldiers, £4, 1s, 8d. There was, however, much complaint that this distribution was not exactly conformable to the former practice. The distribution of the prize money to the English army at the capture of Paris after the battle of Waterloo was made by proclamation at London, and was probably agreeable to the established rules of the service.

To the Duke of Wellington,	£61,000			
General Officers, . . .	1,274	10s.	10d.	
Field Officers, . . .	433	4	4	
Captains, . . .	90	7	3	
Subalterns, . . .	34	14	9	
Sergeants, Corporals, &c. .	14	4	4	
Private Soldiers, . . .	2	11	4	

This is the partnership of the giant and the dwarf. The

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\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. CXLV.

commander gets all the honor and profits, the soldier the losses and blows. This is apt to be the case in all wars ; and party contests are too often the "madness of many for the gain of a few."

The proportion between the pay of the officers and soldiers in the armies of the ancient republics, compared with the practice in all modern nations, is very curious.

When Xenophon, after the retreat of the ten thousand, engaged himself and six thousand of the Greek army in the service of a Thracian prince, the terms of pay were, to each soldier, one daric a month ; each captain, two darics ; and to Zenophon, the general and commander, four darics.

Among the Romans, Polybius says the pay of a centurion was only double that of a private soldier.

It appears from Demosthenes, that the pay of an Athenian ambassador in his time was not more than that of a common soldier.

The annual income of the Lord Chancellor of England was formerly as much as £20,000, and besides he had many lucrative offices at his disposal. We believe it has been reduced by the Whig government to £14,000, with a retiring pension of £5,000. The salaries of the Judges are from £5,500 to £10,000 a-year. We do not mention these instances of salaries as extravagant, under the existing circumstances. They are probably not higher than is required by the nature of the government, and the state of English society.

In the church the bishops, archbishops, and other dignitaries, enjoy very ample revenues, from one or two thousand to twenty thousand pounds a-year. These, with some exceptions, are given to the relatives of the nobility and gentry, younger brothers and cousins. The majority of the clergy seem sufficiently removed from the temptations of wealth. In about five thousand parishes, a few years since, there was no resident clergyman, and the religious services were performed, as far as they were performed at all, by curates. Of this portion of the clergy the compensation varies from ten to a hundred pounds annually, in few instances exceeding the latter sum.

The bishops often amass large fortunes. Bishop Tomline, the private tutor of the late William Pitt, was said to have left an estate of £700,000, and we not unfrequently hear of a dignitary of the church in England, and especially in Ireland, leaving at his decease from one to several hundred thou-

sand pounds. The late reform of the church has introduced a greater equality in the salaries of the bishops and archbishops, varying from £4,500 to £20,000.

In respect to the church, however, we have no idea that any attempt to abolish or diminish tithes would be of any service to the tenants, or afford any relief to the people in general. The whole benefit would go to the landlords. There is much reason in the sentiment of Burke, that a Bishop of Durham or Winchester may as well have £10,000 a-year as an earl or a squire, although it may be true that so many dogs and horses are not kept by the former, and fed with the victuals which ought to nourish the children of the poor people. In the reformation of the church by Henry the Eighth, the confiscation of a greater part of the church property served only to enrich the crown and a few greedy courtiers. The estates of several among the most wealthy of the nobility and gentry in England, it is well known, were derived from the plunder of the abbeys, monasteries, and convents. Such an origin of a great estate as the Duke of Bedford's, so eloquently described by Burke, in his "Letter to a noble Lord," is not peculiar to the Russell family.

The rich plunder expected from the great wealth of the church was no doubt one of the main causes of the reformation in England, so far as relates to Henry the Eighth and his courtiers, especially the latter. The motive assigned by the poet Gray, with much wit as well as gallantry, for the conduct of the great reformer of the church, was the primary, but not the only one.

"'T was love that taught this monarch to be wise,  
And gospel light first beamed from Bullen's eyes."

Henry's love for the property of the rich abbeys and monasteries proved far more lasting than his affection for Anne Bullen, and his reforms were continued long after the unfortunate queen ceased to influence her imperious husband.

The lucrative civil offices are shared by the aristocracy and their dependents, except in a few instances where extraordinary skill or industry is required, and which must be had wherever they can be found.

The mercantile, manufacturing, and moneyed interests have long had great influence in the policy and measures of the British government. Though the representatives of these classes have always been in number a minority in parliament, yet

from their superior activity and sagacity with regard to their own interest, they have frequently obtained undue advantages from the government, and are, on the whole, much more favored in the public burdens than the agriculturists. The rich merchants, manufacturers, and bankers may be considered either as members, or as allies and supporters of the aristocracy.

The House of Lords is now far superior to that assembly, when, about eighty years ago, it was called by Lord Chesterfield the Hospital of Incurables. This is owing chiefly to continual recruits of the most distinguished commoners, who have, since the accession of George the Third, tripled the number of the Upper House. In point of talent, wealth, personal influence, and weight of character, it probably stands much higher than at any former period. Take from the House of Lords the families that have been ennobled during the last sixty years, and though its legal and constitutional power would be the same, its real power and influence would be comparatively insignificant.

These continual accessions from the ranks of the commons are the vivifying principle of the nobility, giving it health, strength, wealth, talent, and influence. The leading commoners, the most distinguished men in political life, in the law, army, navy, and church, and in the landed, moneyed, commercial, and manufacturing interests, do not wish to diminish the power or privileges of an assembly of which they may hope to be one day members, and which, at any rate, they consider as indispensable to the continuance of the present political system.

One of the best founded complaints against the English government is the neglect to provide for the education of the common people. No public provision is made for this object, at least none worth mentioning, except so far as it may be supposed to come within the duties required by law, or custom from the clergy of the established church. While so much is doing in Prussia and several other countries on the continent at the public expense, though much has been said and written in England in favor of a general system of education, we hardly recollect any measure of the government for this purpose except the grant a few years since of £30,000 for the education of teachers.

It may be supposed of course that the same neglect would extend to the English colonies and dependencies, or whatever



territories were added by conquest or otherwise to the British empire. In Ireland and Wales, their old institutions for education were broken up by the English at the Conquest, and no new system established, and the mass of the people left in ignorance to this day. For the public school system in New England we are not indebted to the English government or institutions, but to the piety and wisdom of our Puritan ancestors.

We are much inclined to doubt whether, in any country where a privileged order of men have in fact the control of the government, any public system for the education of the people ever has been, or is likely to be, carried into practice. In a republic without any privileged class, enlightened men feel a common interest in educating the people so far as to make them good citizens and qualify them for the duties which ordinary men may be called on to perform in such a community. The general diffusion of knowledge is considered one of the best securities for the peace and prosperity of the country. In a monarchy where the sovereign has the entire power, such a system of general education may be formed and carried into execution, as in Prussia and several of the states of Germany. Where the monarchical or the democratic element has the real ascendancy, the government may feel an interest in educating the people.

Perhaps the case of Scotland may be thought an exception : but in Scotland the system of general education was established by the Presbyterians in the time of the Solemn League and Covenant, from the influence of popular freedom and religious enthusiasm. It was repealed at the Restoration, but the Scots obtained the reëstablishment of it at the revolution of 1688.

We believe education one of the most essential duties which society owes to its members. But what is a good education, and what will best fit them for the duties they may be called on to discharge, and the place they may probably fill, is a very important question. The governing powers in England have not yet determined that any system is to be adopted, or that any general one is expedient ; and looking at the continuance and stability of their present political institutions, it may not be so easy a question as we imagine. For instance, what education is best for an English sailor who may be impressed and compelled to serve many years under the discipline of a British man of war, with little or no chance of promotion ; or for the common soldier, who in an army officered by gentlemen

can very rarely rise above the ranks; or for the laboring classes in their present condition? No education can remedy most of the evils which are felt by the laboring classes. Education cannot give them employment, food, or clothing, and perhaps would only make them discontented with the inevitable hardships of their condition. There is very little reason to suppose that the government have any such object in view as educating the common people at the public expense.

According to M. De Tocqueville an aristocratic government has a great superiority over all others in the ability with which its foreign relations are managed. He adduces the example of the Romans and the English in support of this opinion. An aristocracy, he says, is a steadfast and enlightened man who never dies.

There may be much truth in this, but we think in respect to England, as much of her success is to be ascribed to national character and fortunate situation, as to the wisdom of the aristocracy. England in her foreign relations and in all controversies with other powers has unrivalled advantages. Her insular situation and naval strength give her means of defence and annoyance possessed by no other country. Every other great nation of Europe has seen a foreign army in its territory and in possession of its capital. But since the Norman conquest no attempt to invade England has succeeded, except in case of a civil war or disputed succession to the crown, where a great portion of the people favored the enterprise.

This security has rendered Englishmen in a great degree strangers to the calamities of war except as they appear in the shape of taxes. To their minds war has been associated with the trophies of victory, the display of British power and valor, the firing of the Park and Tower guns, the thanks of both houses of parliament, with honors and rewards to the successful naval or military commanders. The slaughter of the battle field, the sufferings of the wounded, the groans of the dying, the burning of towns, the multitudes driven from their sweet and cheerful homes to perish by cold, hunger, or disease, have in times past made little impression on their imagination. With the English as with all other nations success will for a time render any war popular however unjustifiable. It is not till they begin to feel the losses and burdens of a war that they are sensible of its impolicy or injustice, and wish for peace.

This geographical position so happy for the English, we have thought has sometimes been unfortunate for other na-

tions, as it has enabled and disposed England to inflict on them the calamities of war, without any serious danger of their being brought home to her own island. In the American Revolutionary War it is not probable that so many towns would have been wantonly burnt, and so much private property destroyed, if these evils could have been retaliated upon their authors.

Government is constituted for the good of the whole society and of every member. The English government like all other governments and social systems must be estimated not by any theory or imaginary standard of perfection, but by its effects on the well-being of the people. We must judge of the tree by its fruits. Mr. Fox said his defence of the British constitution was, not that it was perfect or tallied with the theories of this man, or that man, but that it produced substantial happiness to the people, and if this ground were taken away he knew not what defence to make. We suppose this to be the true and only satisfactory ground on which any political institution or form of society can be defended.

Macaulay looks on the favorable side of things, and sees nothing but progress and improvement, though he hears much complaint of decline and ruin. The nation in his view is sound at heart, has nothing of age but its dignity, combined with the vigor of youth. He thinks the nation is going on in a course of improvement, preserving what is good in its institutions, and reforming what is bad in a peaceable constitutional way. This is undoubtedly the true mode of reform.

But the changes in civil society are not confined to acts of parliament, or measures of government. Time, says Bacon, is the greatest of innovators. Time and the course of events have made the English government and social system what they now are, and may be silently working greater changes than any ministry or political agitators.

We look with much interest for the subsequent volumes of the work. So far the author has occupied the same ground with Hume; the second volume closing exactly at the termination of Hume's history. As our author has already devoted two fifths of the first volume and the whole of the second to the four years reign of James II., we presume he intends to pass over many of the following years with more rapid wheels. The task before him is a great and glorious one, and we know of no author of whom there is so much reason to expect its successful accomplishment.

## ART. IV.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

- 1.—*Madonna Pia, and Other Poems.* By JAMES GREGOR GRANT. In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill. 1848. pp. x. 320, xiv. 350.

THESE volumes indicate a strong and genuine tendency to the poetic form, rather than the possession of any very rich or rare vein of the native ore of poetry, on the part of the author. A large part of a life seems to have gone to rhyme here. Whether all the honey was worth hiving, (except as every literary working bee must find a comfort in saving up all whatsoever vouchers of its own existence, to prove that it has been productive in some sense, that it has at least graced the world, if not made very deep marks on it,) is more than we would dare affirm. But there is certainly good poetry, and not a little, stored up with the rest. Every piece is rhythmical, and pleasing, and artistically wrought. Some are bewitchingly beautiful.

Mr. Grant seems to have been early penetrated with a profound reverence for the character of poet; his whole collection has a little of the air of a continued series of attempts at another vindication or "Defence of Poesy." In the upward pathway of his aspirations, he at last met with a type of the character, which his soul at once accepted as a model, in the poet WORDSWORTH, to whom his volumes are inscribed, while they are filled with traces of his influence. Thus, in his lover's rhapsodies, he is very careful to mention that the object of his adoration is a thing of "flesh and blood," not destitute of every-day qualities, not a nymph, nor a dryad,

"Nor aught else of superhuman,  
But a very, very woman!"

And he has been and gathered sonnets among the "Lakes," singing the praises of "Winandermere," and "Derwent Water," and "the river Duddon." Doubtless, the Wordsworthian example and philosophy have been a good, strengthening thing for him. Temperament had inclined him, we should fancy, quite another way; for there is an undertone of sadness, a habit of the minor mode, and a slight addiction to the Leigh Hunt sentimentality, spontaneously reappearing ever and anon in these poems. His sentiment is always pure, his aspiration brave and constant; yet we cannot call him spiritual; his inspiration is not of the "third heaven;" neither in invention nor in tone does his muse ever transcend the higher strata of very current and approved, though very good and just and liberal thoughts. The inward material is not equal to the ambition or the power of shaping. His dazzling aims and



models, therefore, cast him back upon himself; he grows very conscious, and writes sonnets "On glancing over some of my own poems," lines "On being asked for my autograph," &c. It is not an offensive egotism; it is only not the consciousness of genius.

The longest and, as we judge, the best piece in these volumes is "Madonna Pia." The subject is from Dante's *Purgatorio*. In four lines, under the lightning flash of his intense imagination, it gleams through the night of ages:

"Ricorditi di me, chi son la PIA:  
Sienna mi fe'; disfecemi Maremma:  
Salsi colui, che 'nnanellata pria,  
Disposando m'avea con la sua gemma."

Grant time to bring it nearer and fill out the living detail of its beauty and its tragedy, as Leigh Hunt has done with the tale of "Rimini"; and he is hardly less an adept in the rose-color art. He begins thus musically:

"MADONNA PIA! thou whose gentle shade  
In the sad Tuscan's awful path arose,  
When in the milder penal realm he strayed, —  
Yet breathed no murmur of thy mortal woes,  
Nor creature, dead or living, didst upbraid  
With bringing thy sweet life to bitter close, —  
Sighing but this — "that the Maremma slew,  
And he, the loved one, thy PIETRA, *knew* —"

"Madonna Pia! beautiful wert thou  
Above all beauty then upon the earth!  
And Hope and Joy upon thy Heavenly brow  
Laughed evermore with their divinest mirth!  
We! unto thee all living things might bow;  
Thee, in the pride of beauty, and of birth,  
And youth, and boundless wealth, — which, even then,  
Drew sordid worship from the souls of men:

"Yet not for wealth did young Pietra seek  
This dazzling Phœnix of Sienna's sky —  
He saw an empire on her lip and cheek,  
An El-Dorado in her glorious eye!  
He heard sweet music when he heard her speak;  
Wings sprang within him when her step drew nigh;  
And the least glance or smile she threw on *him*  
Made all of brightness else look cold and dim.

He then goes on to describe the growing passion and mutual confession of the lovers, the rapture and the foreboding, in a style which shall testify for itself by the production of a stanza or two:

"Madonna Pia told her virgin love  
To her young lover with sweet virgin pride,  
And blessed the poplar-shadows from above  
That fell her blushes and her joy to hide —  
And panted with her joy as a young dove  
Feels its heart pant against its trembling side,  
When some quick hand hath stolen on its rest,  
And gently clutched it in the quiet nest."

. . . . .

"A little ebb, within a little hour,  
 Came to these lovers: on Pietra's breast  
 Madonna Pia wept the sweetest shower  
 That ever calmed a stormy joy's unrest.  
 And then the voice of each, in that calm bower,  
 Came back, like happy birds, to their loved nest;  
 And each to each could breathe sweet words anew,  
 And talk of love as happy lovers do."

And now for the turning point of the story, which is rendered thus: (We quote at length, as a fair specimen of the whole.)

"I pass these raptures — for these raptures passed:  
 Oh! then the change! — and now the change I tell.  
 Not vainly was the cypress-shadow cast,  
 Not without import on the stream it fell:  
 The debt to vengeful Nemesis amassed  
 Will have its hour — and she exacts it well:  
 Though human hearts (let but the goddess wait)  
 Are *their own* Nemesis, or soon or late.

"Suns rose and set: — The Sire, the Dame, the Priest,  
 Had smiled, and prayed, and blessed the nuptial tie.  
 Moons waxed and waned: The bridal joy and feast  
 Were numbered with the thousand things gone by:  
 And in Sienna's marts and squares had ceased  
 The gaze, the murmur, and the whisper sly;  
 And fluttering gallants sought no more to please  
 The wedded wonder of the Siennese.

"Returning from a revel — the most bright  
 And joyous that Sienna since had known,  
 Madonna Pia, with a heart more light  
 Than lightest rose-leaves by the zephyr blown,  
 As down a terrace stair-way's marble flight  
 (By many a torch and many a cresset shown)  
 Lightly she stepped, chanced lightly there to smile,  
 At some fair thought that crossed her mind the while.

"Perchance some flash of light and reckless mirth  
 Heard where young careless hearts were flowing o'er;  
 Some freak of playful Fancy, taking birth  
 From this or that that others said or wore;  
 Some transient jest of little blame or worth,  
 Some pleasant nothing, smiled at just before:  
 When all is cloudless in the heart's glad sky,  
 Smiles wander to the lip we scarce know why.

"But hast thou never, gentle listener, read  
 How, in those olden days, with passion rife,  
 E'en for a look — or word at random said,  
 There was the secret cell, the secret knife —  
 Or poison mixed so subtly, strangely dread,  
 That the least touch was deadly bane to life?  
 Look! e'en such venom's concentrated might  
 Was in Madonna's smile that fatal night!

"For at the moment when Pietra's glance  
 Fell on that smile (oh! smile so peerless then!)  
 And for the *cause* shot round, by evil chance  
 It fell on one who *seemed* to smile again.

Better had he who smiled, with pointless lance  
Have rushed into a hungry lion's den!  
Better for that sweet Lady undefiled  
If he had stabbed her, even as she smiled!

"Lo! the first taint of canker in the rose —  
Lo! the first gall and wormwood in the draught!  
First rankling of a wound no more to close —  
First random piercing of an aimless shaft! —  
What thoughts within Pietra's breast arose!  
His Angel shuddered, and his Demon laughed —  
Laughed to behold the busy hand of sin  
Already shaping its own hell within!

"Sternly he sullened on their homeward way —  
Sternly he sullened to their chamber-door —  
Sternly he left Madonna there — a prey  
To many a bitter pang unfelt before:  
Alone he left her — and alone she lay,  
Wondering and weeping all this strangeness o'er —  
Wondering and weeping — pouring sigh on sigh,  
And asking her deaf pillow 'Why, oh why?'

"Wrong and Remorse her prescient heart foresaw,  
For well her country's "yellow plague" she knew;  
Though, as a gem without a speck or flaw,  
She knew her own clear innocent spirit too:  
Sudden — a hand her curtain strove to draw —  
And, as she sprang to gaze on him who drew,  
A stern voice bade her 'rise! and quick prepare  
To journey with her Lord — he knew not where.'

"Stern was the bidding — stern the bidder's look:  
She gazed upon his face, and read therein  
All cruel thoughts and deeds, as in a book;  
Little of mercy — much of wrath and sin:  
And while his parting steps the chamber shook,  
All deadly white she grew, from brow to chin;  
And rose, the fearful mystery to learn,  
And with dread haste obeyed the bidding stern.

"As down some dusky stream a dying swan  
Creeps slow, slow down the marble stairs she crept,  
Shivering with icy terror, — and, anon,  
From out the portal's gloomy arch-way stept:  
There sat Pietra, staring spectral-wan,  
And ghastly motionless, as if he slept  
On his dark steed: another neighed before her,  
And to its saddle menial hands upbore her.

"Why spake he not? this dreadful silence why?  
This timeless ride into the starless dark?  
Vain questions all, that with imploring eye  
Vainly she asked — for there was none to mark; —  
And like to one who under stormiest sky  
Puts forth on ocean in a crazy bark,  
She felt, when, almost ere her lips could say  
'O God!' the dark steeds sprang away — away!"

This is but prelude to a mournful journal of the transfer to  
the tower in the middle of the fatal marsh of Maremma, and the

slow wasting of the innocent and lovely victim under the insidious poison of malaria, and the stony silence of the preternatural, inhuman vengeance of the husband, who came every day to *see* her waste,

"And, while the suppliant wept and prayed apart,  
Held him inexorably silent still:  
Raising her hot and streaming eyes anon,  
The silently-implacable was gone.

"Gone — and no word: and thus, all sternly dumb,  
Daily, for months, her prison to and fro  
Implacable in silence did he come,  
Implacable in silence did he go:  
Oh! list, poor victim! list the bittern's hum,  
List to the sullen winds without that blow,  
List to whate'er drear voice comes o'er the fen —  
Pietra's voice thoult never list again!"

"Oh sternest gaoler that did ever yet  
Gaze upon martyred sweetness, vulture-eyed! —  
Daily her miserable food he set —  
With his own hand, and trusted none beside: —  
And daily thus, all wretchedness, they met,  
And daily thus they withered and they died; —  
For soon, on both, the pestilential air  
Of the Maremma worked like poison there.

"Chiefly on *her*: the oil of her sweet lamp  
With speedier ruin wasted: lip and cheek  
Hollowed and thinned, — and the eternal damp  
Breathed from that fenny ocean wide and bleak  
Filled her with palsying rheum, and ache and cramp;  
Gave to her pallid brow a deathlier streak,  
And to her eye that drear and ominous light  
Which dimly beacons the long ceaseless night!

"Oh! *then*, the banquet of avenging ill  
The avenger saw and felt was spreading fast!  
And Retribution's fiery hand should fill  
Her 'cup of trembling' to the brim at last! —  
He saw her drooping — withering — sickening still,  
And ghostlier looking every day that passed;  
And, with a stern vindictive patience, bore  
Himself, disease unfeared, unfelt before."

All this is very powerfully told, and there is not wanting a halo of high spiritual beauty about the portrait of the sufferer, to relieve the natural horrors of the sacrifice. The poet employs one little trick of euphony a great deal, and not without a musical effect. It is what would be called, in musical composition, the *imitation* of passages or phrases. That is, the echoing in the next line of a form of words from the line preceding, or from the first to the last half of the same line; and this sometimes in the direct, sometimes in the inverted or reflected order; which gives a unity and compactness to the stanza, rhythmically considered, like the continual repetition of the same little *motive* in a good piece of



music. Perhaps he carries it too far for poetry. Here are instances :

"I pass these raptures — for these raptures passed:  
Oh ! then the *change* ! — and now the *change* I tell."

"But, midway, on the right, like some *lone* isle  
In a *lone* lake, a *lonely* tower she saw —  
*Lonely* and dark," &c.

"Their *gloomy* pathway *gloomier* shadows cast."

"And from the *bleak* sky to the *bleaker* shore."

And so repeatedly. Sometimes the imitation runs all through a stanza, as in the following, which is very graphic :

"Thither she dragged — and saw the fenny grass  
*Sullenly* wave o'er all that *sullen* lea ;  
And heard the bittern boon in the morass,  
And saw the wild-swan hurrying to the sea ;  
And *dreary* gleams, and *drearier* shadows, pass  
O'er *lonely* wilds that *lonelier* could not be :  
And then she turned, all *hopelessness*, within,  
And felt that all was *hopelessly* akin."

This is like Spenser :

"The wretched porter of those wretched stones,  
He who thus opened, was a sight to see !  
The flesh had pined so from his starting bones  
That like a living skeleton was he :  
His breath was a mixed thing of gasps and moans,  
And old ere middle age he seemed to be :  
Blar-eyed he was, and vexed with ache and cramp,  
Fed evermore by that pernicious swamp."

We have not room to go into any critical invoice of the minor poems which fill out the volumes. They are of every variety, in form and subject, though mostly of the kind called "occasional poems." Among the best are the "Epithalamium," the "Lover's Rhapsody," (so *à la* Wordsworth,) and "Pale Student." Many are written for music, but they are not simple enough for that; the words should simply hint the theme, if music is to develop it. A tendency to too great copiousness of words is frequently apparent, as, for instance, in the version of Goethe's "*Das Blumlein Wunderschön*." The sonnets are beautifully moulded, and have the poetic tone; but there is not always meaning enough in them. He justifies the form by prefixing to two separate batches of them Wordsworth's two sonnets, one quoting authorities from Shakspeare to Milton, and the other likening the sonnet to "the prison, unto which we doom ourselves," and which, therefore, "no prison is." There is a disposition to support the right side in some humanitarian questions, here and there, as in the condemnation of war in the "Stanzas on Waterloo." We are sorry, however, that the author should have deemed it necessary to add an

apologetic note to prove his patriotic reverence for the "GREAT VICTOR," the Duke of Wellington!

We will end with a specimen of one style of poem, in which our author is perhaps as successful as in any other.

#### THE SHORTEST DAY.

- "Pile ye the faggot-heap —  
Autumn is dead!  
Winter, the icicled,  
Reigns in his stead:  
Faster and faster  
Come, Ravage and Dearth!  
Winter, your master,  
Is lord of the earth!
- "Spread we the feast —  
Bid the curtains be drawn —  
Twilight hath ceased,  
And 't is long to the dawn —  
Hark to the rising gust!  
Hark to the rain!  
Hark to the sleety shower  
Hurled on the pane!
- "Heap the hearth's splendour up —  
Hail to the blaze!  
If we *must* render up  
Homage and praise  
To the cold frozen one  
Nature obeys,  
Be *thou* our comforter,  
SHORTEST OF DAYS!
- "With a halo of glory,  
(As though 't were in scorn  
Of Winter the hoary,)  
Up-springeth thy morn!  
Briefest of brief ones!  
*Thou* yielddest a token  
*One* rod of the Tyrant  
Already is broken!
- "The team to the shed,  
And the flock to the pen —  
*They* know not the night-wave  
Is ebbing again;  
But joy, joy, to *your* pillows,  
O children of men!  
LIGHT's glorious billows  
Are *flowing* again!
- "Dash the torch, and the taper,  
And the dim lamp, away —  
Through storm and through vapour  
Come, life-giving DAY!  
Joy's glance, with thy morrow,  
*More* joyous shall be,  
And the pale cheek of Sorrow  
Grow brighter for thee!

" O Day ! lovely Day !  
What a joy to perceive  
Thy earlier dawn,  
And thy lingering eve !  
O Light ! lovely Light !  
With thy heavenly ray  
Thou shalt scatter the might  
Of bleak Winter away ! "

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2. — *Die Gegenwart*. 18tes Heft. Leipzig. 1849. (Graf Pellegrino Rossi.)

" *Nemo contra Deum nisi Deus ipse.*" These are words which none should more take to heart than those who undertake to rule the destinies of nations. The past year evinced their truth to nearly all the rulers of Europe, and foremost of all to that class of politicians and diplomatists, styled *Doctrinaires*. The man whose name we have placed at the head of these words, was the protégé and adopted representative of the founders of this theory, and has fallen as its victim with the rest. Theories and systems, invented by men, if they do not go hand in hand with the supreme law and system, may apparently stand for a time, but it is only to fall the deeper.

The idea of the "historical development" of nations is certainly beautiful to contemplate in the present and to trace in the past ; it inspires the beholder with a reverence and admiration proportionately greater than watching the development of the majestic oak from its living germ in the acorn to the extended branches of the full-grown tree aspiring to heaven. But if a man would undertake to guide and regulate the historical or progressive development of the tree, according to his own notion of the propriety of growth, he would soon see that his efforts were as ridiculous as that of the child we see trying to stop up a current with its tiny hands. The doctrinaire party in France and all the rest of Europe, under whatever name they may parade their wisdom, were no wiser than such a man or such a child would be.

To trace the life of one of these men who took an important part in the affairs of Europe, is of interest in more than one respect. It must be allowed that men of the greatest talent and learning belonged to this school of doctrinaires, and, more than this, they behaved with energy, perseverance and sagacity to uphold and carry out their system. For this purpose they enlisted able men, without distinction of country or nation, to work for their cause. Whilst we must admire and laud their zeal and exertions, we cannot but infer from this very fact that their system was a

false one, since it has failed and brought ruin upon all its supporters, in spite of the talent, the energy and sagacity enlisted in its behalf.

The sketch of the life of Rossi which we give below, translated from the German, shows him to have been a man of transcendent talents, of firmness of purpose, and intelligent perseverance. Although we will not question his honesty in taking up the cause for which he labored, still his uprightness of character is made questionable by the latter part of his career; even if we make allowance for the helpless position in which he was placed through the overthrow of the throne of his patron Louis Philippe. To expect uprightness of character from a diplomatist and politician seems almost to be a paradox, but there is yet a difference between shrewd management in public negotiations and double dealing to suit the personal interest of a man. It is this last mentioned feature which we condemn in Rossi, and which, we think, brought his life to a violent end; and while we execrate the assassin's hand that committed the bloody deed, we cannot but be reminded of the words of the poet:

"Ill for ill waits ever ready:  
On the guilt-polluted race  
Retribution steals apace;—  
Jove weighs all with balance steady."

Among the statesmen, diplomatists and political adventurers whom the finger of 1848 has struck from the list of actors, we behold the figure of an Italian whose fate deserves our interest so much the more because talents and knowledge, strength of character and good will indeed qualified this man to enter in these new times upon a new and fruitful career. After having been an advocate and professor of law under the dominion of Napoleon, a respected professor and statesman in the Calvinist republic of Geneva, after the July revolution a protégé of the French Doctrinaires, councillor and ambassador of Louis Philippe with the prospect of taking the part of a Mazarin, and finally an Italian patriot, this Proteus-like character was on the point of recovering for the Pope his secular power, and through the ambiguous art of diplomacy of restoring to order the fates of Italy, when in the midst of anarchy and political fanaticism, the hired blow of a bandit laid him low. What vicissitudes of life! What a strength and versatility of character which came forth out of these phases, unimpaired in mind and body and with the capacity to undertake a new task!

Pellegrino Lodovico Eduardo Rossi, afterwards Count and Peer of France, was born on the 13th of July, 1787, at Carrara in Modena, of bourgeois parents. He educated himself with extraordinary success to the learned studies, and in the University at Bo-



logna, at the age of nineteen, took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and at the same time received the office of secretary to the Procurator General of the court at that place. When a few years afterwards he was established as a practising lawyer, he proved a very adroit and successful advocate. His knowledge and his love of the French law, which at that time prevailed in the Italian peninsula, procured for him the professorship of criminal law and penal procedure at Bologna. At the Restoration in 1814, the new government gave him an office in the Commission of the Reorganization of Romagna. However, in his political sentiments Rossi still adhered entirely to the former enlightened French regime, and when in the following year Joachim Murat took possession of the Papal state, he accepted from him the office of a civil commissary in the conquered provinces. This step was of course considered by the party of the Restoration as a political apostasy, so that Rossi, upon the expulsion of Murat, abandoned his professor's chair, and with many others of his countrymen sought for an asylum in Switzerland, — Geneva. Without property and solely dependent upon himself, he went from there to England to seek for a proper sphere of action, but in 1816 he returned to Geneva, where he gave private lectures on history, law, and political economy. He wrote at the same time for the "*Bibliothèque Universelle*," and uniting with Sismondi and the learned jurist Bello he edited the "*Annales de législation, de jurisprudence et d'économie politique*," a work which was discontinued in 1821, because its editors would not submit to the censorship of the Holy Alliance. Rossi very soon gained the confidence and respect of the Geneva aristocracy. His enemies have alleged this as a proof of his chameleon-like character; but Rossi's nature was quite suited to acquire influence in this circle without constraint or hypocrisy on his part. His grave, simple, but yet adroit deportment, his enlightened rationalism in politics, law, administration and religion, suited the Geneva bourgeoisie quite well, on whom the French Doctrinaireism of Guizot and Royer-Collard exercised great influence.

In the year 1819, Rossi obtained the professor's chair of the Roman and criminal law at the Geneva Academy, which gave him a much more elevated position, although his pecuniary circumstances were but slightly improved. He married, at the same time, into a distinguished family of the city. It was also at this time that he wrote his "*Traité de droit pénal*," which was published at Paris in 1829, (3 vols.) and dedicated to the Duke de Broglie, who had various communications with Geneva, and had in this way become acquainted with Rossi, and learned to esteem him. This work, which was intended to be only the introduction to a comprehensive work, explains with great clearness the general principles of penal law, according to an enlightened and humane system of ethics; it insists on securing the interest of society

as well as that of the individual ; it rejects confiscation (as it still existed at that time in England) and severe incarceration, (such as was practised in Austria,) but vindicates the right of capital punishment in a chapter which is instructive even now. However, Rossi confines the right of capital punishment to a few cases, and hopes, that with the improved state of morals it may be entirely stricken from the penal code. About the year 1820, the respected Professor received the right of citizenship of Geneva, and was chosen into the Great Council of the Republic, where he soon gained predominant influence, through his extensive knowledge and his practical schemes of statesmanship. He pointed out, although with great moderation, the necessary reforms both of the separate Cantonal governments of the Swiss confederation, and of the federal compact itself. It was also through his instrumentality that Geneva made some concessions to the democratic constitutional principle, at the time when the constitutions were revised before 1830. After the French Revolution of 1830, when the political movements began to break out more violently also in Switzerland, and the liberals insisted upon a thorough reform of the federal compact in favor of a greater federal union, Rossi was sent by Geneva as her envoy to the Diet which was to attend to the revision of the confederation. Here, through his extensive knowledge, as well as through the moderation with which he represented the policy of liberalism, and the idea of centralization, he soon gained an extraordinary influence, so that he was entrusted with making the report on the projected revision. In the scheme which Rossi hereupon laid before the Diet in the year 1832, and which is known in the political annals of Switzerland by the name of "*pacte-Rossi*," with great forbearance he endeavoured to strengthen the Swiss confederation. His plan was adopted by the Diet in December of 1832. Rossi had, in his plan of centralization, proceeded from the existing relations of things, and purposefully avoided all radical interference with the individual interests of the separate cantons; the progressive modulation of the federal constitution, upon the basis of this first step, was to be left to the future. Notwithstanding this, the law of revision met with the greatest opposition on the part of the small cantons where the ultramontane party exerted itself to the utmost to retain the old cantonal state of things. The radical liberals were likewise dissatisfied with the work of Rossi. Under these auspices the revisionary law was submitted to the separate communes for ratification, and rejected by a majority of the Swiss people, in consequence of the combined exertions of the ultramontanes, the old aristocracy and the radical reformers.

Rossi had, through his labors at the Diet, learned to know his strength ; but, at the same time, contracted a decided aversion to the petty party intrigues which pervaded the political life in

Switzerland, particularly at that time. This, and the circumstance that his salary as Professor at Geneva was hardly sufficient to secure a support for his young family, induced him to think of obtaining another sphere of action. Being sent by the Diet to Paris to regulate the affairs of the Polish emigrants, he came into intimate relations with the doctrinaire-ministers, Broglie and Guizot, and he made use of this acquaintance to enter into the service of the French state. Both parties originally intended to secure for the Geneva professor only a French office of instruction, as his views and education coincided with the political doctrinaire principles of those men. Rossi accordingly emigrated to France in the year 1833, and established himself at Paris. The ministry intended to establish for its protégé a professorship of French constitutional law, which was then not taught in the law school; but Rossi saw more clearly than his patrons, what powerful obstacles a foreigner must meet with in this field, and how much his success and the support of his family in general would be endangered, if the chamber, in view of the intentions of the government, should reject the establishment of this professorship. He, therefore, did not enter for the time, upon this project; he received, however, in August, 1834, through ministerial intercession, the chair of the Professor of Political Economy at the Collège de France, which had become vacant through the death of Say. He was naturalized at the same time, (August 23.) Although Rossi was perfectly able to do justice to his science and the office, still there were also obstacles in his way, which, however, he succeeded in overcoming, by extraordinary perseverance and skill. The name of his distinguished predecessor, and his manner of lecturing, which had been rather attractive through its brilliancy, than scientifically instructive, had rendered the lecture room of political economy in the College de France, the rendezvous of a host of scientific dilet-tanti, who belonged but in part to the studious youth, and derived nothing therefrom but a brilliant entertainment. Rossi, on the contrary, who, moreover, had no creative talent for the science, had to confine himself—and this was to the great advantage of the object of instruction—to the strict explanation of the scientific principles of his system; nor was he able, being a foreigner, to lend charms to his subject through a vivid and brilliant style. He explained the problems of political economy with great clearness and consistency; but he spoke after the Italian fashion, methodically, slowly, and with a foreign accent. After the very first lectures, the crowd of hearers had for ever vanished; only about one hundred zealous students remained, who were willing to be thoroughly instructed in this science by the able teacher. Among them there were some men who have since distinguished themselves as practical and theoretical economists, and who openly declare, that Rossi's labors at the Collège de France have put this science upon a decidedly firm basis in France.

After Rossi had entered upon his office as teacher, the university appointed him, a few months afterwards, temporary professor of Constitutional Law in the law school of Paris. If his appointment in the Collège de France had excited the indignation of the opponents of the government, the opposition press now protested in full chorus against this second nomination, and the students were also drawn into this party strife. Nobody could dispute the capacity of Rossi for this new professorship; he was disliked only because he was a foreigner, and the special protégé of the domineering doctrinaires. The students alleged as a special reason — his not having taken the academic degree in the University of Paris. Numbers of students and others forced their way, several times, into the hall of the law school, where the persecuted man lectured, and made such a tumult, that the public authority had to interfere, and the government was obliged, in December, 1834, to discontinue the lectures for some time. It was only after several months that the patience and firmness of Rossi succeeded in obtaining an undisturbed hearing before the students, and in course of time in securing, at least in part, even their attachment. However, it was not till the 30th of November, 1837, that an ordinance made his temporary appointment in the law school permanent. A portion of his lectures on political economy in the Collège de France was published from the notes taken by one of his hearers, Torré, under the title of "*Cours d'économie politique*," (Paris, 1840; 2d ed., 1846.) Rossi proves himself by this work to be a lucid expounder and clever eclectic in the department of Political Economy. He demands a free course for labor, capital, and trade. Respecting his views on the land rent, he inclines to Ricardo; but in his theory of population to Malthus. This latter view is still more apparent in his other work, elucidating the principles of the British economist: "*Introduction à l'essai sur le principe de population de Malthus*," which is contained in the seventh part of the "*Collection des principaux économistes*." In the year 1838, Rossi, who had now gradually gained considerable respect among the scholars at Paris, was chosen member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and he received at the same time, the "*grandes lettres de naturalization*." Of his works in the Academy, a memoir on the relations of political economy to the institutes of the civil law is well known.

The warm recommendations of Guizot and Broglie, as well as the writings which he had from time to time published in the "*Revue des deux mondes*," and other government organs, had already procured for him the decided favor of the court. Louis Philippe saw in the adroit and talented Italian a man whom he might use for something greater than a teacher of the ministerial doctrine. Therefore, in 1839, when many peers were created, Rossi was also put upon the list, and this elevation was to be only the prelude to



the new career which the king himself intended to open for his favorite. The active influence of Rossi in the chamber of Peers was, probably intentionally, very limited; he spoke but a few times, namely, during the debates on the banking privilege, and afterwards during the dispute regarding public instruction. In short, after having been created Peer, Rossi resigned the offices of instructor in the law school, and the Collège de France, (where Chevalier succeeded him); and instead of it, he was at once admitted (in 1840) into the council of state, where he was at first assigned to the department of instruction, and some time after to that of foreign affairs. It is indeed remarkable how soon Rossi, in this position, stood in the most confidential relation to the king, and how he must have penetrated into all the plans and designs of the court, and have been consulted regarding them. His frequent and personal intercourse with Louis Philippe displeased even the faithful and indefatigable Guizot, who began to fear, and not without reason, that the Italian might, sooner or later, overshadow and displace him. Notwithstanding his relations to the court and to the Doctrinaires, notwithstanding his stiff and uninteresting external deportment, which still reminded one of Geneva puritanism, and denoted the party-type of the men who had elevated him, Rossi succeeded in putting himself in a tolerably good understanding with the other public parties and their tendencies. The legitimists alone reviled and rejected him, called him a renegade and similar names, because he did not care to trouble himself about "these people without a future." But with the republicans and radicals he was not out of favor, and was even praised several times in the "National." The opposition entertained the conviction, that the adroitness and perseverance of the Italian might perhaps lead to the undermining and overthrow of the hated Doctrinaire party, and that according to several expressions, apparently unguardedly made, he concealed an opinion, the development of which might, one day, undeceive his protectors. The clergy did not look upon Rossi with unfavorable eyes. As citizen of Geneva, and husband to a Protestant wife, he had had his children educated in Calvinism; but in France the shrewd man caused his family to go over to Catholicism. During the dispute on the educational question, between the university and clergy, Rossi had spoken in the chamber of Peers in such a manner that he did not offend, in fact, any party, but to a certain degree satisfied them both. The ultramontane party already fancied that they saw in him a possible ally.

This extreme adroitness which Rossi displayed in the debates on ecclesiastical and religious affairs, determined Louis Philippe, at last, to make a decided use of the virtuoso powers of his confidant, intending through his agency to make a final settlement of the ecclesiastical questions then pending between France and the

Papal See, and thus to restore peace between the two parties. In the beginning of the year 1845, when the breach between the Church and State showed itself more dangerous than ever, Rossi was appointed Minister Extraordinary to Rome; it was given out that he was to conduct the embassy at Rome *ad interim*, in place of the sick Count Latour Maubourg. The French legitimists at Rome protested against it in vain. Guizot likewise found himself quite severely treated by the appointment of Rossi, which had been made without his wishes and knowledge. Guizot had selected for the post at Rome Count Bois-le-Comte, who was acceptable to both the party of legitimists and that of the priests, and he was already on his journey to Paris, from Switzerland, where he represented the French interest, when Rossi informed the minister that he himself should go to Rome, according to the will of the king. Rossi actually entered upon his mission at the end of February, 1845; he received an open commission to bring to a definite settlement with Gregory XVI. the dispute about the liberty of instruction, and the relation of French prelates to the power of the state. The latter point had reference to the mandate of Bishop Bonald, which encroached dangerously upon the province of the state. At Rome Rossi showed his Italian character to its full extent; he spoke like a native, and succeeded in gaining confidence for himself. It was, however, asserted that he would have effected nothing, in spite of all this, if he had not been aided by the storm, (and this was, perhaps, purposely excited,) which Thiers called forth in France by his speech in the Chamber against the extension of the order of Jesuits on French soil. Rossi shrewdly made a handle of it, and succeeded in obtaining in this affair a concession, although it was doubtful and disputed. At the beginning of July the French papers stated that the intelligence, calmness, and perseverance of Rossi had succeeded in concluding the preliminaries of a treaty with the Papal See, according to which the society of Jesuits was abolished in France, the houses of the order must be closed, and the novices absolved. This pretended victory occurred at the same time with the negotiations now happily finished, regarding the right of search, with the cabinet at London, and were made the most of by the court and government, to gain favor with the public. The "Constitutionnel," "National," and the press of the government united in extolling the talent of Rossi.

The ultramontane and legitimist papers only, from revenge, pointed at the utter insignificance and even the disgrace of such a victory; they declared that the government, according to existing laws, had already not only the right but also that it was their duty to expel the Jesuits, and that the applications made to Rome for the abolition of the order proved the weakness and want of conscience of the government. These papers also maintained that

Rossi himself had not been able to obtain anything from the Pope ; and only the General of the Jesuits had, from a consideration of the circumstances, consented to dissolve the order in France for the time.

Notwithstanding the dispute which at the same time took place about the talents and merits of Rossi, his influence was more firmly established in France, and in the diplomatic world, and every body was convinced that a portefeuille as minister awaited the adroit and firm Italian at the hands of Louis Philippe. Guizot seemed to have broken with him ; but still he enjoyed the sincere favor of the Duc de Broglie. In spite of the objections of the legitimists, Rossi received, in May, 1846, a definite appointment, being raised to the rank of ambassador at the Vatican and to that of a French count. The death of Gregory XVI., (1st of June,) the election of Pius IX., towards which he had contributed a great deal, according to his own statement, the reform movements and the new political constellation which began with this election — all these increased the importance of Rossi's position, and the value which his adroit mind had in the eyes of the king of the French. And certainly none of the ministers of Louis Philippe was so well fitted as he, through the virtuoso skill of diplomatic intrigue, to manage the so-called "juste milieu" of the master, now at the right time to go onward, and now at the decisive turning point to stop, and, without being noticed, to take a new direction ; Rossi, who at first boasted of having led the papal state upon the path of reform, understood how to interfere with skill when the consequences of these first steps of Pius IX. were developed, and to bring France nearer to the policy of Austria. This ambiguous deportment, adapted to the plan of Louis Philippe, brought upon him, even then, the hatred of the Italian patriots. But besides this, he gave the Vatican moderate counsels and succeeded in inducing a court to delay its action in the Swiss disturbances. This was indeed well adapted to the policy of peace and compromise, but it did not at all satisfy the ultramontane party. Although in these extremely intricate relations Rossi sustained his reputation as a subtle and extremely clever diplomatist, yet neither his art nor the general policy of Louis Philippe could arrest the natural course of things in Italy and in Switzerland. It has been said that Rossi had been selected by Louis Philippe to take the part of a Mazarin in France after the death of the king, and at the head of the regency to guide his grandson and the Orleans dynasty through the storm of internal insurrection. Rossi was no doubt possessed of the pliability, subtleness, and perseverance of that Italian. However, it may be doubted whether these qualities would have been sufficient to allay the political fermentation of France at the present day. The very fact that Rossi was a foreigner would have prevented him from being put at the head of

a French regency. That Rossi had no firm hold either on the public opinion of France or on that of Rome, is shown by his total downfall as soon as the Orleans dynasty in France was overthrown. Immediately after the events of February, 1848, he found himself deserted and unnoticed, and was obliged to give way at once to D'Acourt, the ambassador of the Republic.

What was now to be done; whither was Rossi to go, to undertake a new stage-part, that he might secure subsistence for a large family? At Rome, the parties despised him; there was no prospect of a career for him there. He went to Carrara, and came out of his chrysalis an Italian patriot. His countrymen received him gladly, naturalized him, elected him, and we may, perhaps, believe it is true that the adventurer embraced with sincerity the cause of his native country. However, the victories of Radetzky, and the return of the Duke of Modena, soon drove him from his popular position. He was obliged to flee back to Rome, where the parties derided his downfall and his fate. Rossi encountered his misfortune with all the perseverance and tenacity of his natural disposition. He succeeded in winning the ear of the Pope — to whom he had so often given wise counsel — and, through the press, in presenting himself to the people as the unavoidable future minister, as often as the helpless rulers of the papal state changed or were about to change; one might read in the papers, that Rossi was the man who could save the state out of the breakers. This was said when Mamiani was put at the head of affairs, and the same was repeated when the ministry of Fabbri was formed. But nobody believed that Rossi had been selected for that work; on the contrary, his exertions were ridiculed in caricatures and pamphlets. In the mean time, the embarrassments of Pius IX. and the general distraction of affairs increased from day to day in the papal state. Fabbri had dissolved the chamber, which was to be called together again; the financial distress was great; entire anarchy prevailed in the northern provinces (Legations); Cavaignac refused to interfere and restore order in the Papal state; the so-called patriots cried Treachery, openly threatened the overthrow of the government, and demanded war with Austria. In this distress, the Pope sought help from Rossi. The clergy and reactionary party acknowledged the great talent of the man, and recollected that as minister of Louis Philippe, he had acted with success and moderation; but the daily press attacked him with revilings and execrations; the so-called patriots declared that the ministry of Rossi would be fatal to the cause of liberty. Rossi promised the Pope to restore order in the Papal state, without force or foreign assistance, and to bring even Italy out of the crisis, by way of diplomacy. He declared openly, that the independence and greatness of Italy should be the only aim in his negotiations.

On the 18th of September, 1848, the ministry of Rossi came



into being. Rossi himself took the department of the Interior, and then, provisionally, that of the Police and Finance, — a great power in the Papal state; but, at the same time, a still greater responsibility. Cardinal Soglia took the Presidency and Foreign Affairs; Cardinal Vizzardelli, Instruction; Advocate Cicognani, Justice; Professor Montanari, the Public Works; and the Duke de Rignano, *ad interim*, the war department. Again the radicals raised a cry about reaction, because the clergy was again taking part in the administration. Rossi, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed; he began in connection with his colleagues to tighten the reins in all the branches of government, and showed that the question was not about one-sided reaction, but about restoring order. In order to reanimate trade, the first measure was to repeal the prohibition of the exportation of money. Shortly after he enforced an old law respecting the freedom of exhibiting pictures, by which he suppressed the great nuisance of caricatures. Towards the end of September, he summoned the Prince Canino before him, reproved his anarchical conduct, produced before him written proofs, and dismissed him with menacing admonitions. No doubt he had made thereby a mortal enemy. An ordinance announced the establishment of telegraphic lines as the forerunner of railroads, but it was supposed the principal object of it was to accomplish the purposes of the police. Other decrees founded professorships of political economy and agriculture in the universities at Bologna and Rome. The anarchical little bands of volunteers who had returned to Rome after the capitulation at Vicenza, were sent to the north and east, and the capital was provided with a garrison of troops of the line. However, Rossi induced the Pope to ratify the pensions which had before been promised to the wounded and disabled volunteers, and to the families of the killed. Although the Pope had given his declaration that the war against Austria had been undertaken without his consent, Rossi, in order to gain confidence with the radicals, called upon the clerical and church prebendaries to pay the sum of 200,000 scudi, to liquidate the debts made by the liberal ministers for the cause of independence. However, Rossi could not deceive the radicals, who loudly demanded war against Austria, by this step, nor by sending money to Venice, and calling upon the trading classes to furnish the government with articles of equipment, drums, etc. On the contrary, the clergy became alarmed through this demand of money. As they generally feared an attack on the part of the minister, upon the extensive church property, they voluntarily offered the payment of 4,000,000 of scudi, in fifteen yearly instalments, but on condition that the property of the church should remain untouched. But Rossi was too good an arithmetician; he knew that the property of the church amounted to 60,000,000 of scudi, whilst the State debt was 37,000,000. He received the proposition coldly, and thereby confirming his intentions against

the church property, he brought upon himself the hatred and enmity of the only party that had entertained hopes from his rule. Rossi acted with great energy in clearing the provinces of the many vagabonds and bands of thieves and murderers, who, in the midst of anarchy, had increased to an incredible extent, and who did not suffer the people to rest. One province after another was cleared by the *gensd'armes*.

About the end of October General Zuchi took the department of War, and he likewise tried to introduce strictness and order into the army and military administration. In the mean time bands of volunteers had collected on the northern boundary and on their own account threatened to commence war with Austria. At Bologna the disorganization of all public authority continually became more and more complete; Zuchi hastened to the scene of anarchy, disarmed the volunteers, in the night of the sixth of November made search for the arms hidden in the houses at Bologna, and threatened the refractory people with military law. These measures called forth the bitterest feelings among the radicals and patriots who had been excited by the tidings of the events at Vienna; they believed that Rossi, who himself was earnestly engaged in reorganizing the body of *gensd'armes*, intended to disarm the people in order to deliver them defenceless into slavery. The supposition that the minister was treating with Austria and Naples, gave reason for the supposition that he had engaged through a plot of the cabinet to betray and stifle the general exertions of Italy for freedom. The *ne plus ultra* press at Rome pretended that it knew of an alliance even with Russia, and in the "*Circolo popolare*," the most violent and numerous club of the people at Rome, they spoke of the *denaturalized son* of Italy. In this state of feeling the chamber was to be reopened on the 13th of November. Rossi was indifferent to what was going on, because through his 1,000 *gensd'armes* and 6,000 regular troops he felt himself strong against the radicals, and knew full well that the credulous and excitable multitude were only wrought up by a few fanatics. A few days before the opening of the chamber, the representative Sterbini abused him in the "*Circolo popolare*" and in the journal "*Contemporaneo*" in a manner which had heretofore been unheard of in Rome. According to his statement, Rossi was said to be still in communication with Guizot and Metternich, and upon the expulsion of the Austrian minister from Rome, to have taken this mission upon himself and faithfully discharged the same. He was furthermore charged with arbitrarily reducing the number of seats in the public gallery of the chamber of deputies from one thousand to a hundred, and this was certainly the fact. He was accused of provoking disturbances for the purpose of putting Rome and the country in a state of siege. On the 13th of November four hundred *carabinieri* marched from the country into Rome, and the minister passed them in review

on the following day in the closed court of Belvedere, exhorting the troops to remain faithful to the Pope; this was likewise done with the police soldiers. On the same day there appeared an article in the official "*Gazetta de Roma*," in which the public at least thought that the chamber of deputies and the national exertions were laughed at. No doubt any attack of the government upon the chamber of deputies was very unwise. The article, together with the charges made by Sterbini and the appearance of the carabinieri increased the exasperation of the fanatics and astounded even the more intelligent. The "*Civica*" assembled and protested against the troops being drawn together. A general distrust of Rossi took possession of the public mind; those deputies, also, who had heretofore been on the side of the ministers, resolved, in consequence of that article, to strengthen the ranks of the opposition. It was intended to compel Rossi to retire by withdrawing the support of the chambers from the government, which was now feared, hated, or at least suspected by all parties.

However, the minister retained his self-confidence; he had the conviction that he should overcome the distrust of the chamber through the development of his policy, and through his personal deportment obtain a majority. The opening of the chamber was looked forward to with the greatest anxiety. On the 14th of November, Rossi was informed of a plot; he paid no attention to it. The chamber assembled at the appointed hour, about one o'clock, on the 15th of November, in the palace of the Cancellaria, in a part of the upper story to which a staircase led from the court. At this same hour Rossi left the Pope, and drove a few minutes afterwards into the court of the Cancellaria, where the people received him with howlings and hisses. He alighted, smiled sardonically at this demonstration, and went, swinging his gloves, towards the staircase, which was filled with about thirty young men belonging to the volunteer corps of the "*bersaglieri*" (tirailleurs). When Rossi reached the stairs, a passage was opened for him, but already on the first steps he was pushed one side. One of those that pushed gave him a violent blow upon the shoulder. Rossi raised his hand; by this movement his neck was laid bare and extended. At this moment he received two thrusts with a dagger in his neck. He covered the wounds with his pocket handkerchief, ascended quietly a few more steps, and said to his companion, Righetti, the substitute of the finance department, "It is nothing." Suddenly, however, he sat down, powerless. His servant carried him into the upper story, and placed him in an ante-chamber of the Cardinal Guzzoli, where, after breathing for a few minutes longer, he expired. Several civic guards who were on duty before the chamber, were witnesses of the proceeding from the top of the stairs, but did not interfere. The murderers withdrew slowly, without any hindrance. The people received

the news of this event coldly and indifferently. The chamber of deputies, in which the places on the right were vacant with a few exceptions, did not suffer itself to be disturbed by the news of the assassination of the minister, in the reading of the record of the last session in August. The roll having been called, the president declared that no quorum was present for the transaction of business, and all withdrew in silence.

The bandit who struck the blow, at the instigation of a conspiracy formed a few days before, was named Jergo. It was said that he was paid 12,000 scudi for the bloody deed. Great suspicion fell upon the deputy Pietro Sterbini; nobody troubled himself, however, to pursue the murderers. The ministry was dissolved, and the director of the police of the city withdrew. At first it appeared as if the fanatics would content themselves with the assassination of Rossi; a revolution had not been prepared. Handbills, quickly spread by the radicals, called for a demonstration in the evening against the retrograde party; and then the tumult followed which led, on the following day, to the attack upon the Quirinal, and to the popular ministry of Galetti. On the evening of the 24th, Pius IX. fled from Rome to Civita Vecchia, and from thence to Gaeta. The French ambassador took care of the family of Rossi, his wife, children, and brothers, who had lost their supporter. Only a portion of the Italian press expressed any horror at the crime, or lamented the loss of the man to the national cause; the other papers palliated this murderous deed with religious and theatrical phrases, and praised it as a victory of the good cause of the nation. "The deed was done exactly upon the spot where Cæsar was slain," said the Tuscan "Alba." Within a few months after this deed the rumor was spread abroad that the murderer of Rossi had fallen by the same hand which paid him the price of blood, because it was feared he would disclose his accomplices.

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3—1. *Hin Forna lögbók Islendinga, sem nefnist Járnsida eðr Hákonarbók. Codex Juris Islandorum antiquus, qui nominatur Jarnsida seu Liber Haconis. Cum interpretatione Latina, etc.* HAVNLÆ, Sumptibus Legati Arnæ Magnæani. 1847. 4to. pp. XLIV. and 291.

2. *Islenzkir Annálar, sive Annales Islandici ab anno Christi 803 ad annum 1403. Cum interpretatione Latina, etc.* HAVNLÆ, Sumptibus Legati Arnæ Magnæani. 1847. 4to. pp. L. and 478.

Two new donations from the trustees of Arnas Magnusen's fund for the publication of documents relative to ancient Scandinavian history. The first, the *Járnsida*, or "Ironside," is an old



Icelandic code of laws, published there about 1271; not the oldest, however, for the "Gray-goose," which it succeeded, had been in force in the shape in which we now have it, for about a century and a half. The publication of the *Jarnsida* marks an important epoch in the history of Iceland, the epoch, namely, when the country, exhausted by the everlasting feuds of the petty chieftains among whom the island was parcelled out, fell into the power of Hacon the Old, of Norway. The ancient democracy which had flourished for 400 years, had become no longer democratic. Theoretically, indeed, the freeholders were still all equal before the law, but there had grown up around each of the larger proprietors a crew of retainers whose unquestioning adherence enabled him to set the laws at defiance. The ancient code, tender of personal liberty, could do nothing in the last extremity but withdraw its protection from the offender. But if strong in the protection of his clan, and secure in his own district, he laughed at the outlawry of the tribunals. In this state of things, the stern Norse individualism, unrestrained by the ties of commerce, or of a common danger from without, which in modern times, and in other countries, have bound men together; secure in its remote and icy home, and encouraged still farther by the isolating tendency of a pastoral life, received an extreme development, inconsistent with civil order. Every principle of cohesion being destroyed, the body politic fell to pieces, not from an overwhelming force from without, but from an internal, organic disease.

The name "Ironside," accordingly, (if not derived, as we might conjecture, from the binding of the book, as has been supposed in the case of the "Gray-goose,") probably betokens not any particular severity (for nothing of the kind appears) of the code, but only the wincing of the haughty islanders at the first taste of a strong central government. Their old laws only regulated the practice of private revenge; thus a murderer was prosecuted to outlawry, by the nearest relation of the slain. The inevitable law, that whatsoever does not govern itself, must be ruled from without,—that within or without, a central principle must exist and govern; this law, universal in the material and in the spiritual world, did not admit of an exception here. "Life for life," says Strinnholm; "the law could not as yet give, for only the serf could be punished in life or limb; every judgment between free men was only a compromise—the law could do nothing except to fix legal forms for this."

But now they heard for the first time, that "God has ordained two visible ministers of his divine religion and sacred law, that they should cause the good to enjoy justice, but should correct and punish the evil. Of these, one is the king, the other the bishop. The king is by God appointed to the civil command, to manage civil affairs; the bishop to the spiritual, to oversee things spiritual."

Henceforth the transgressor was to be prosecuted by the king's attorney, who was to have the sentence executed, and receive part of the fines. Moreover, although some of the provisions of this code were taken from the "Gray-goose," yet by far the larger part is a mere transcript of the Norwegian laws, and thus doubtless appeared more oppressive, merely from being new and foreign.

The Icelanders, from the first, made a great deal of complaint about it, and it was in fact abolished in about ten years, though probably rather on account of insufficiency, (for it is very short, and evidently a hasty production,) than for any change of policy in the Norwegian government, since the *Jónsbók*, which took its place, and which is still mostly in force, is, we believe, not more favorable to popular rights.

Noticeable features, on a hasty perusal, are, the development of the jury of twelve sworn men, peers of the defendant, (*Tyltar eidr*), which is here used more frequently and for causes of less moment, and moreover for the assessment of damages in civil actions, as well as for criminal cases:—a provision for recovering costs in an action of debt; "he shall have six ounces for the trouble of getting his due;"—a prohibition to give credit to a married woman for goods, "unless her husband have sent her to the ship or into the market to buy for the need of both,"—it being the custom of the country for the merchants to put up booths on the beach, and sell from their ships. Stringent provisions are made against theft, thus, "one who crawleth under people's cows, to drink their milk, is out of the protection of the law, and so if one shall go into a man's leek garden, or his angelica-garden; though he be beaten, or the clothes taken off from him." Nevertheless, an exception is made in the case of extreme want. "None of us shall steal from another. But this is to be observed, that if a man steal meat, being unable to earn his livelihood, and thus help out his life, for hunger's sake, this is a theft which should by no means be punished." It is remarkable, by the bye, that the Icelanders long before this had provisions for the support of the helplessly poor. "Those men who persist in coming into companies of men unbidden of him who gives the feast, and obstinately sit there, although they be roughly cast out, or in anywise mishandled, are half-right men, (can recover but half damages,) and shall pay three marks to the King. This is so provided, since many good men have taken harm and danger from their insolence."

From a clause in the law of wrecks, &c., it would seem that the Icelanders were the first whale-fishers: "If a dart be found in a whale, he shall keep the iron who dwells nearest."

Although by no means so ancient as many of the northern codes, the *Járnsida* contains many of those terse alliterative sentences, which always attest a high antiquity, for instance, this in a

provision against obstructing fish in their ascent of rivers: "Free gate to God's gifts to the fells or to the fiord;" and this, in an exception to a statute of limitation: "For in salt lieth a suit when the suitors are competent." Elsewhere, "the fence is a peace-maker among neighbours."

The second in the annals of Iceland, from A. D. 803 to 1430. It is very much like the Anglo-Saxon chronicle; a terse matter-of-fact record, kept probably at some monastery, or at all events by monks; as is shown by the scraps of Latin interspersed, and the attention to news in the church. Its contents are thus summed up by the editor in the preface: "the births, deaths, journeys, and changes in office of bishops, judges, and other public functionaries; natural events, some common to many lands, such as comets, eclipses of the sun and moon; others peculiar to this land, as earthquakes, volcanoes, severe or mild winters, scarcity of grain, pestilences among men and animals; matters concerning foreign commerce, as shipwrecks, the departure and arrival of vessels; and events in life, or of the common religion, as crimes and misdeeds, dreams, fables of ghosts, and such like."

On the first pages, mention is made of Ragnar Lodbrok, (Hairy-breeches,\*) a Scandinavian King Arthur, to whom (as well as to Odin,) the origin of the jury of twelve men is ascribed, and many other miscellaneous exploits, some historical, some fabulous. Here is related the story of his unsuccessful expedition against King Helli or Halli of Scotland, in the year 715, in which he was taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon, where he was destroyed by snakes, bearing his fate with invincible stoicism, saying only in allusion to his sons at home, "the young pigs would squeal if they knew the fate of the boar." The news being brought to the sons, Ivar the Boneless did not stop playing; Sigurd Snake-eye, who was carving his spear-handle, drove the spear-head through his foot without observing it. Biorn was playing at dice; he grasped the die with such force, that the blood burst from his hand. Then collecting their forces, they took signal revenge for the death of their father.

Another theme is the gradual introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 1000. How Poppo the Bishop put on hot iron gauntlets without injury, whereupon multitudes were baptized, and the fiery ordeal substituted for the duel in judicial decisions. The old faith, however, still lingered for a long time in corners of the land; in particular, the Icelanders were hard to wean from secret sacrifices, and the eating of horse-flesh, and both continued to be practised hiddenly, (as the laws also attest) though for-

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\* The *Lotroc* of the Romance de Rou, and *Lothbroc* of the English chronicles.

bidden. Homicide is a frequently recurring item; not many pages are without cases of it. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, we observe the advances of Norway. Gissur Thorvaldson (afterwards the King's lieutenant) comes over and receives a command in the northern parts. What he did to make himself obnoxious, unless his being in the Norwegian interest was known or suspected, is not discoverable; but at all events, after the genuine Norse mode of redressing grievances, his house is surrounded and set on fire, and his wife, his three sons, and twenty-five other persons burned, he himself narrowly escaping into a butt of sour whey in the dairy. Thereupon he goes to Norway again, but soon returns with the title of Jarl, doubtless a recompense for losses in the royal service. Soon afterwards, the Norwegian rule is acknowledged in the assemblies of one district after another.

Great numbers of men and of cattle die of pestilences, particularly after hard winters, when the snows are deep, (for the cattle are kept out all winter,) or in cold summers when the hay crop fails. The small-pox appears several times; first in 1240. In 1289, King Eric sends one Rolf to Iceland, "to seek the *new land*" (*leita Nýjalands*). In 1379, it is recorded that "the Skrælings attacked the Greenlanders, and slew eighteen, and took two boys as slaves."

Several outbursts of Hecla; as in 1300, when the roofs of houses were broken by the falling pumice stones, and ashes fell so thick that it was never darker of a winter's night, and this for two days. In 1314, Audfin the Bishop put up the first *stove* that had been seen in Iceland, and which is mentioned afterwards with respect in the annals. The bishops in general, were good to the poor, and in all things upright and useful men. Bishop Orm, however, was an exception; he excited the ire of the people by heavy and unusual exactions, till they could bear it no longer, and so drove him off to Norway, and the other bishop going off too, Iceland was for a while without any bishop. Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find numbers of English fishermen on the Iceland coast. In 1417, twenty-five of their vessels were wrecked in one storm. On one occasion some of them, being in want of provisions, went ashore somewhere in the northern part of the island, and the people not being at home, they helped themselves to what they needed, but the chronicle remembers to add, they left the money for it.



4. — *The Nemesis of Faith.* By J. A. FROUDE, M. A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

“Καὶ μὲν ἔργῳ γ’ οὐκ ἔτι μύθῳ  
 Χθρῶν σεσάλευται  
 . . . . . σκιρτᾷ δ’ ἀνέμων  
 Πνεύματα πάντων, εἰς ἄλληλα  
 Στάσιν ἀντίπνον ἀποδεικνύμενα.”

PROMETHEUS.

London. 1849. 12mo. pp. 228.

THE author of this work is the son of Archdeacon Froude, now living at Devonshire, and brother of the late Mr. Froude one of the early followers of Dr. Pusey, whose “Remains” became so distinguished a few years ago. The present is quite a remarkable work — especially when we consider the parentage and position of the author. We knew the sons of archdeacons were not insured against heresy, or even insurable at any office in the Church. But we had thought that there was one spot yet dry and untouched by the flood of neology which in this country spreads so wide; that spot we thought was at Oxford, and the driest and most tenable part thereof was occupied by the “scholarships” of Oxford. But alas, the Dove sent forth from the mediæval ark of the catholic church will find no resting place for the sole of her foot, we fear, and must return to the patriarchal hand. If the Tory scholarships of Oxford, becoming nests for heresy, hardly be saved, where shall the ungodly theological schools and dissenting pulpits of New England appear? Well may each dissenting sect exclaim:—

*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus,  
 Quem Patronum rogaturus,  
 Quum vix OXON sit securus!*”

Such is the frailty of men; so powerful is still the old Adam in young blood, that not even the luxurious scholarships at Oxford keep men from heresy. There was the rich clover of the church, green and blooming in the close of Oriel college, defended by a venerable gate with thirty-nine bars. Yet this was not enough! Such is the depravity of human nature! The Fellow of Oriel has “broken college” and overleaped the venerable gate — thirty-nine bars though it counted. Alas, there is no more clover for him, at least none in the ecclesiastical meadows of Oxford. So offensive is this unlucky work that the author has been deprived of his scholarship. Nay, he had been appointed professor — we know not of what, in a college at Hobartstown, but the appointment is revoked “by order of the queen,” as we are told; the newspapers announce that the work has been academically and “publicly burned” with judicial fire at Oxford. This we hold to be apoc-

ryphal, for we think the grave men at Oxford know that in burning a book nowadays other things are likely to take fire. To buy a book that is printed at Paternoster Row, and burn it at Oxford, in these days is a piece of wit no more alarming to authors and publishers than it would be to buy calicoes printed at Manchester and burn them with academic fire. It makes the better market for the rest. Most men like the smell of a burnt book. But let us return to the work of Mr. Froude.

Markham Sutherland is the hero of the tale. He relates his own history for some time to his friend Arthur. Markham has left the university; his father—a plain man of a few good rules, with no ungentlemanly scruples about what every body does and believes, a little thick in the head, perhaps, but sensitive enough in the heart—wishes the son to choose a profession. “The three black graces” alternately present their charms to him, but he cannot “get the apple delivered.” He always meant to be a clergyman; he has a high idea of the clerical profession, and says,

“I cannot understand why, as a body, clergymen are so fatally uninteresting; they who through all their waking hours ought to have for their one thought the deepest and most absorbing interests of humanity. It is the curse of making it a profession—a road to get on upon, to succeed in life upon. The base stain is apparent in their very language, too sad an index of what they are. Their “*duty*,” what is it?—to patter through the two Sunday services. For a little money one of them will undertake the other’s *duty* for him. And what do they all aim at?—getting livings! not cures of souls, but *livings*; something which will keep their wretched bodies living in the comforts they have found indispensable. What business have they, any one of them, with a thought of what becomes of their poor wretched selves at all? . . . Not more than one in fifty takes orders who has a chance in any other line; but there is this one in each fifty, and so noble some of those units are, that they are not only enough for the salt of their class, but for the salt of the world too. Men who do indeed spend their lives among the poor and the suffering, who go down and are content to make a home in those rivers of wretchedness that run below the surface of this modern society, asking nothing but to shed their lives, to pour one drop of sweetness into that bitter stream of injustice: oh, Arthur, what men they are! what a duty that might be! I think if it is true what they say who profit by this modern system; if there is indeed no help for it, and an ever increasing multitude of human beings must drag on their wretched years in toil and suffering that a few may be idle and enjoy; if there be no hope for them; if to-morrow must be as to-day, and they are to live but to labor, and when their strength is spent, are but to languish out an unpensioned old age on a public charity which degrades what it sustains; if this be indeed the lot which, by an irrevocable decree, it has pleased Providence to stamp upon the huge majority of mankind, incomparably the highest privilege which could be given to any one of us is to be allowed to sacrifice himself to them, to teach them to hope for a more just hereafter, and to make their present more endurable by raising their minds to endure it. I have but one comfort in thinking of the poor, and that is, that we get somehow adjusted to the condition in which we grow up, and we do not miss the absence of what we have never enjoyed. They do not wear out faster, at least not much faster, than the better favored; that is, if you may reckon up life by years, and if such as we leave them may be called life. Oh what a clergyman might do! To have them all for an hour at least each week collected to be taught by him, really wishing to listen, if he

will but take the trouble to understand them, and to learn what they require to be told. How sick one is of all sermons, such as they are! Why will men go on thrashing over and again the old withered straw that was thrashed out centuries ago, when every field is waving with fresh, quite other, crops waving for their hand? Is it indolence or folly? What is it?"

But he cannot be a clergyman.

"Arthur, before I can be made a clergyman, I must declare that I unfeignedly believe all "the canonical writings of the Old Testament;" and I cannot. What does it mean — unfeignedly believe it all? . . . I suppose we are to believe that all those books were written by men immediately inspired by God to write them, because He thought them good for the education of mankind; that whatever is told in those books as a fact is a real fact, and that the Psalms and Prophecies were composed under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. . . . If there were no difficulties but these, and only my reason were perplexed, I could easily school my reason; I could tell myself that God accommodated His revelations to the existing condition of mankind, and wrote in their language. But, Arthur, bear with me, and at least hear me; though my head may deceive me, my heart cannot. I will not, I must not, believe that the all-just, all-merciful, all-good God can be such a Being as I find him there described. He! He! to have created mankind liable to fall — to have laid them in the way of a temptation under which He knew they would fall, and then curse them and all who were to come of them, and all the world, for their sakes; jealous, passionate, capricious, revengeful, punishing children for their father's sins, tempting men, or at least permitting them to be tempted into blindness and folly, and then destroying them. O, Arthur, Arthur! this is not a Being to whom I could teach poor man to look up to out of his sufferings in love and hope. What! that with no motive but His own will He chose out arbitrarily, for no merit of their own, as an eastern despot chooses his favorites, one small section of mankind, leaving all the world besides to devil-worship and lies; that the pure, truth-loving Persian of the mountains, who morning and night poured out his simple prayer to the Universal Father for the good of all His children; that the noble Greeks of Marathon and Thermopylæ, the austere and stately Romans, that then these were outcasts, aliens, devil-worshippers; and that one strange people of fanatics so hideously cruel that even women and children fell in slaughtered heaps before their indiscriminating swords, that these alone were the true God's true servants; that God bid them do these things, and, exulting in their successful vengeance as a vindication of His honor, compelled the spheres out of their courses to stand still and assist the murdering! . . . For myself, the most delightful trait in the entire long history is that golden thread of humanity which winds along below the cruelty of the exclusive theory, and here and there appears in protest, in touches of deeper sympathy for its victims, than are ever found for the more highly favored. Who are those who most call out our tears? Is it not the outcast mother setting down her child that she may not see it die, the injured Esau, the fallen Saul, Aiah's daughter watching by her murdered children, or that unhappy husband who followed his wife weeping all along the road as David's minions were dragging her to his harem?"

"And then there is another thing, Arthur, which seems to be taught, not in the Old Testament but in the New, which I should have to say I believed; a doctrine this, not a history, and a doctrine so horrible that it could only have taken root in mankind when they were struggling in the perplexities of Manicheism, and believed that the Devil held a divided empire with God. I mean that the largest portion of mankind are to be tortured for ever and ever in unspeakable agonies."

He cannot preach such doctrines.

"No, if I am to be a minister of religion, I must teach the poor people that they have a Father in heaven, not a tyrant; one who loves them *all* beyond

power of heart to conceive ; who is sorry when they do wrong, not angry ; whom they are to love and *dread*, not with caitiff coward fear, but with deepest awe and reverence, as the all-pure, all-good, all-holy. I could never fear a God who kept a hell prison-house. No, not though he flung me there because I refused. There is a power stronger than such a one ; and it is possible to walk unscathed even in the burning furnace. What ! am I to tell these poor millions of sufferers, who struggle on their wretched lives of want and misery, starved into sin, maddened into passion by the fiends of hunger and privation, in ignorance because they were never taught, and with but enough of knowledge to feel the deep injustice under which they are pining ; am I to tell them, I say, that there is no hope for them here, and less than none hereafter ; that the grave is but a precipice off which all, all of them, save here one and there one, will fall down into another life, to which the worst of earth is heaven ? "Why, why," they may lift up their torn hands and cry in bitter anger, "why, Almighty One, were we ever born at all, if it was but for this ?"

Again he develops more fully some of the difficulties that he feels.

"But why do they believe it at all ? They must say because it is in the Bible. Yes, here it is. Other books we may sit in judgment upon, but not upon the Bible. That is the exception, the one book which is wholly and entirely true. And we are to believe whatever is there, no matter how monstrous, on the authority of God. He has told us, and that is enough. But how do they know He has told us. The Church says so. Why does the Church say so ? Because the Jews said so. And how do we know the Jews could not be mistaken ? Because *they said* they were God's people, and God guided them. One would have thought if this were so, He would have guided them in the interpreting their books too, and we ought to be all Jews now. But, in the name of Heaven, what is the history of those books which we call the Old Testament ? No one knows who the authors were of the greater part of them, or even at what date they were written. They make no claim to be inspired themselves ; at least only the prophets make such claim ; before the captivity there was no collection at all ; they had only the Book of the Law, as it is called, of which they took such bad care that what that was none of us now know. The Pentateuch now has not the slightest pretensions to be what Moses read in the ears of all the people, and Joshua wrote upon twelve stones. . . . The Mahometans say their Koran was written by God. The Hindoos say the Vedas were. We say the Bible was, and we are but interested witnesses in deciding absolutely and exclusively for ourselves. If it be immeasurably the highest of the three, it is because it is not the most divine but the most human. It does not differ from them in kind ; and it seems to me that in ascribing it to God we are doing a double dishonor ; to ourselves for want of faith in our soul's strength, and to God in making Him responsible for our weakness. There is nothing in it but what men might have written ; much, oh much, which it would drive me mad to think any but men, and most mistaken men, had written. Yet still as a whole, it is by far the noblest collection of sacred books in the world ; the outpouring of the mind of a people in whom a larger share of God's spirit was for many centuries working than in any other of mankind, or who at least most clearly caught and carried home to themselves the idea of the direct and immediate dependence of the world upon Him. It is so good that as men looked at it they said this is too good for man ; nothing but the inspiration of God could have given this."

Such a man, in such a state of mind, is not likely to take deacon's orders in the English Church ; but one of his brothers in the navy "has just got his epaulets," and two others in a mercantile house have golden harvests, or at least a golden seed-time,



and a harvest in prospect; the bishop offered his father a living for Markham. The young man consulted his uncle the dean, and told him all his doubt. He treated it simply as a juvenile disorder "which a few weeks parish intercourse and practical acquaintance with mankind would dissipate as a matter of course;" "it was all nothing." So the young man consents to take a place as teacher in the church, thinking of Synesius, "who," as *he* says, "when he was pressed to take a bishopric by the Alexandrian metropolitan, declared he would not teach fables in church unless he might philosophize at home." Markham becomes a priest, preaches what he has to offer, Piety and Goodness, with little theology, and none of the popular sort. So affairs pass on for a year; at length by the contrivance of another clergyman, he is forced to declare himself, in private, against the Bible Society, as follows:

"It is true I have particular feelings. I dislike societies generally; I would join in none of them. For your society in particular, as you insist on my telling you, I think it is the very worst, with the establishment of which I have been acquainted. Considering all the heresies, the enormous crimes, the wickednesses, the astounding follies which the Bible has been made to justify, and which its indiscriminate reading has suggested; considering that it has been, indeed, the sword which our Lord said that he was sending; that not the Devil himself could have invented an implement more potent to fill the hated world with lies, and blood, and fury; I think, certainly, that to send hawkers over the world loaded with copies of this book, scattering it in all places among all persons — not teaching them to understand it; not standing, like Moses, between that heavenly light and them; but cramming it into their own hands as God's book, which He wrote, and they are to read, each for himself, and learn what they can for themselves — is the most culpable folly of which it is possible for man to be guilty."

He confers with the bishop, who advises him to leave his parish in the hands of a vicar, and travel for some years, in hopes of finding an orthodox belief.

"*Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*" A winter at Como does not end his skepticism, but brings him into fresh dangers, which, in his state of mind, he is ill fitted to contend with. He makes the acquaintance of a Mr. Leonard, "an easy, good-natured, and not very sensible English country gentleman, whose fortune, more than his person, had, some years before, induced a certain noble family at home to dispose of an incumbrance to him, in the person of a distantly related young lady who had been thrown upon them for support. She had married him, and ever since had been tolerating a sort of inert existence, which she did not know to be a wretched one, only because his heart was still in its chrysalis, and she had never experienced another." Her husband took little comfort in her, and she little in him — the real bond of union was Annie, a young daughter. Gradually she and Markham became intimate, attached, and enamored; Annie dies through

the accidental carelessness of the mother: — "a punishment," she says, "for my sin in marrying her father." A sense of their condition further comes upon the unhappy pair. She flees to a convent; he is about to end his life, when another appears, and dashes the poison from his cup, and tells him —

"Your philosophy, as you called it, taught you to doubt whether sin was not a dream; you feel it now; it is no dream, it is a real, a horrible power; and you see whither you have been led in following blindly a guide which is but a child of the spirit of evil."

She soon enters the Catholic Church in despair, and to seek a hiding-place. In a few years,

"The stricken deer that left the herd,  
With many an arrow deep infix'd,"

passed quietly away; for, where hope never comes, death comes at last, with a handful of dust to allay this murmuring swarm of passions, vanities, and hopes, and to hive the exiled soul under the shelter of a Providence who not only knows what sin is, but the thing more difficult, who is a sinner.

There is no *logical* connection between Markham's creed and the catastrophe of the book; the connection is purely *circumstantial*, and might have happened to the bishop or the dean, spite of their soundness in theological belief; but most readers will say: this is the result of such disbelief; this is the Nemesis of faith. Did the author mean to show, if a man is bred in a theology which cannot stand, that when it falls he is left undefended, and must also fall? Then the work is imperfect; for the result is brought about by circumstances, wholly independent of the doubting man. Did the author mean to promulgate his doubt, his denial, and escape the consequences by this subterfuge, and say to his opponents: true there are doubts unanswered, but see the fate of him who cherishes such unholy birds in his nest? We do not doubt the writer's honesty, only in this particular confess the lack of artistic skill.

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5. — *Kavanagh, a Tale.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 188.

"The flighty purpose never is o'ertook,  
Unless the deed go with it." — SHAKESPEARE.

THIS is a delightful little work, as are all Mr. Longfellow's. It makes the same impression as a beautiful picture of simple life, — men, women, and children in the midst of nature, where nothing is crowded, but all things are harmoniously grouped

together. The work is rich in quiet humour, in simple and natural descriptions. The characters seem living persons, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Pendexter, and his "old white horse, that for so many years had stamped at funerals, and gnawed the tops of so many posts, and imagined he killed so many flies because he wagged the stump of a tail," and "had a very disdainful fling to his hind legs," and "Miss Amelia Hawkins," "who remained unmarried, though possessing a talent for matrimony, which amounted almost to genius," — these, and indeed all the characters in the work, — from Mr. "Wilmerdings the butcher, standing beside his cart, and surrounded by five cats," to Mr. Kavanagh himself, studying preaching, and courting in the sweet natural way — are sketched with such fidelity to nature, that the reader thinks them real persons who really live in some actual Fairmeadow. "Mr. H. Adolphus Hawkins" is a "gentleman" that every body remembers. There are little inaccuracies in the work, as in most of the works of this accomplished and graceful author; — a little confusion in the natural history, which we should not expect in so nice an observer of human life. Still we should say, this is perhaps the most pleasing of all Mr. Longfellow's productions, if we had not said the same of several others as they successively appeared. The general effect of this, and indeed of all his works, is quiet and soothing; he inspires the reader with tenderness, with philanthropy, with love of beauty, and with love of God.

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6. — *Wilhelm Von Humboldt's Gesammelte Werke.* Boston. 1841–1848. 8vo. Vol. I. to VI.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT has undertaken to edit the works of his deceased brother, which have hitherto been scattered in various quarters of the literary world, and therefore inaccessible. He says of them, "The fragments collected together in these volumes belong to a numerous and wide circle of ideas; they are philosophical investigations which have been made at various times, and under the varying impulses of great events in the life of the nations; they disclose to us the Man in all the affluence of his majestic mind and spiritual power; the Politician confirmed in his free style of thought, at the same time by a profound knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Indian antiquity, and by a serious and penetrating insight into the connections of modern events in the history of the world. In these volumes is shown a peculiar greatness which does not proceed from intellectual qualities alone, but more immediately from greatness of character, from a mind

never limited by the present times, and from an unfathomed depth of sentiment."

The most important works are a translation of Pindar, of two dramas of Æschylus; treatises on the structure of language; and criticisms of various works, ancient and modern. One volume is mainly filled with his celebrated criticism on Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea*. Each volume contains several pieces of poetry, many of which, especially the sonnets, are now published for the first time.

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- 7.—*The Life of Maximilian Robespierre*; with extracts from his unpublished Correspondence. By G. G. H. LEWIS, &c., &c. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. xii and 392.

THIS work has been apparently brought out by the events of the past year, which have again turned the eyes of men towards the unpleasing figure of Robespierre. The author derives his information from the well known histories of the French Revolution, special histories of Robespierre, from an article in the "Quarterly" and another in the "British and Foreign Review," and from some MSS. letters of his hero furnished by M. Louis Blanc.

The work, to judge from the matter and the form, seems hastily written; it contains much valuable matter, but is by no means an adequate biography of Robespierre, though perhaps the best we have.

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- 8.—*A Discourse delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society*, on the evening of February 1st, 1849. By GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, &c., &c. Published at the request of the Society. Providence. 1849. 8vo. pp. 24.

MR. GREENE is well known as an accomplished and elegant scholar, who filled the office of American consul at Rome for several years. Some articles from his pen did honor to one of the most important periodicals in America. In this oration he offers a slight sketch of the "Progress of Historical Science in connection with the progress of society." He says in the earliest ages History seems little more than a mere rhythmical narration of events, but not the less gives the outlines of the picture of the narrator's own age; soon History descends from traditions to



monuments, from poetry to prose, and embraces more objects. At last it becomes a grand Art which paints individuals and yet preserves to us the characteristics of the great races of men. The Oration is written in the large and humane spirit of one familiar with books, familiar also with men of various nations and races.

We have space but for a single extract:

"All the historian's inquiries are attempts to solve those questions in the social and political condition of former times, which are the chief object of attention in his own. His silence even, often goes further than the most labored paragraph, as when we are told that only a single senator perished in the second sack of Rome, and ask — what the historians of that age never thought of asking, — but where were the people? The further, therefore, that civilization is advanced, the more important becomes the office of the historian; the wider the field of general knowledge, the more extensive the range of philosophical inquiry, by so much the more is his sphere enlarged and his responsibilities increased. The curiosity which in one age rests satisfied with a simple narrative of events, demands, in another, an exposition of their causes and their results; and extending by degrees, from minute details to general views, from statistical data to philosophic generalization, arrives, at last, at the production of a living picture of society, in all its varied forms, and a recognition of the great spirit of humanity, which pervades and gives life to them all."

9. — 1. *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.*

By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, &c. &c. &c. Translated under the superintendence of LIEUT. COL. SABINE, &c. &c. Seventh Edition. London. 1849. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 356 and CXXXVIII; and 360 and CXLII.

2. *Cosmos: &c.* Translated from the German. By E. C. OTTE, &c. &c. London. 1848-9. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. XLIX and 766

HERE we have two translations of the celebrated book of Von Humboldt. When the original is completed we intend to offer our readers a review of this magnificent work. At present we wish to speak only of the two rival versions: they are both made by ladies. No. 1 is called "the authorized English translation," having received, it is said, the *imprimatur* of the author himself. The publishers state, that "it was undertaken at M. de Humboldt's express desire," and that he himself read over the proof sheets of the first volume, and of the second to page 100, after which they were read by Chevalier Bunsen." This statement we fear must be taken, as men take the statement of an auctioneer, with a grain of allowance. It is certainly not probable, that so busy a man as Von Humboldt spends much time in looking over proof sheets, even of his own

works; an examination of this will leave it doubtful that he saw all the sheets of the first volume. In the original, Vol. I., p. 381-382, there is a paragraph which begins in this manner: "The geographical investigations (meaning apparently the legendary histories) respecting the ancient *seat*, the *cradle of the human race* so called, have, in fact, a character purely mythical." He then quotes a very long passage from a MS. work of his late brother on "The Diversity of Languages and Nations," to corroborate his own statement. The whole passage is omitted in No. 1, and the reader is not apprised of the fact. The reason is obvious,—Von Humboldt's statement does not agree with the popular Theology of England. Now this is downright dishonesty, and we confess we are amazed that Col. Sabine and Mr. Murray should be guilty of such an imposition upon the public. The translation in general is at best but a poor one; the author's meaning is often obscured by the writer; sometimes it is impossible to ascertain it; sometimes there is no meaning left which we can discover, and sometimes an opinion just opposite to the original, is put before us.

No. 2 appears to be a translation of the whole work. Miss Otté has in general succeeded much better than her predecessor, but sometimes she misses the author's meaning, where Mrs. Sabine had seen and preserved it; sometimes she obscures and weakens a sentence by giving a paraphrase and not an exact version. But on the whole, her translation is far better than Mrs. Sabine's, and is sufficiently literal. Still, we think it unfortunate that so valuable a work—requiring not merely a knowledge of the German language, but also an acquaintance with the *things* treated of in the work—should not have found some person of high scientific attainments to render it into English.

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- 10.—*The Gospel of Labor*: a Poem, delivered before the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association, on the occasion of their Twenty-ninth Anniversary, February 22, 1849. By A. J. H. DUGANNE, an honorary member. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16.

SOMETIMES a man speaks because he has something to say; sometimes because he has to say something. Anniversary poems are often written by men of the latter class, but this seems to come from a man who speaks because he has something to say. The substance is more perfect than the form; the author sometimes struggles with his material, and cannot mould and master

the clay into which he has breathed the breath of life. He speaks of the dignity of labor: man, when expelled from Eden, thought himself blasted for ever; the poet thinks that expulsion was the best thing which could have happened to him.

"The sunlight and the perfume, and the flowers,  
Were hidden in Earth's solitary bowers, —  
And Adam's curse was that he saw them not!  
Nature with Eden's loveliness was fraught,  
But all was gloom to Man's uneducated thought!

"But Toil was not his curse! The Eternal's plan,  
Shrouded in mystery, was the good of Man!  
Paradise was earth's foretaste — Adam shared  
Its peace, that he for earth might be prepared.  
Man was first placed in Eden's bowers, to learn  
The heaven of joy that he through toil might earn;  
Then from its gates, the Eternal led him forth,  
To pluck that heaven from the golden earth."

God is continually at work,

"*and ceaseless rolls*  
*Out from his boundless heart the ocean of men's souls."*

Again he says:—

"Fearfully do we tread  
The Alpine masonry of pyramids —  
And shudderingly our feet are led  
Through Egypt's populous tombs,  
The echoless catacombs —  
Beneath whose rocky lids  
Slumber a nation's dead!  
With awe we mark the pillars overthrown  
Of what was once the Athenian's Parthenon:  
With fear we scan the crumbling stone  
Of Rome's dread Colliseum —  
Her pride — her mausoleum!  
We dream not that those wrecks of old  
A pregnant lesson may unfold —  
Our blind souls have never scanned  
What Ruin's damp and mildewed hand  
Hath writ upon each mouldering wall! —  
A lesson like the scroll in doomed Belshazzar's hall!

"Those Ruins *answer* us! They speak amid  
The shadowy years, like Samuel unto Saul:  
Each stone hath voice — as if within the wall  
A multitude of prisoned souls were hid;  
Behold! they cry — behold these crumbling pile  
Are grave-stones of the People — of the slaves,  
The masses — by whose sweat and bloody toils  
All were upreared — walls, bases, architraves! —  
*These are the monuments of those who have no graves.*

"Those Ruins *teach* us! Kings have writ their name  
Upon those crushed entablatures, and deemed

Their memory deathless as each column seemed :  
 Why is it that nor king nor vassal claims  
 The homage which their awful works inspire ?  
 Why is it that we gaze — perchance admire —  
 Yet reckon not of the long-forgotten builder,  
 Whose handiwork, even in ruins, can bewilder ?

“ It is because the soul which was in him  
 Who built, hath passed into his work. It is  
 Because the eternal life which had been his,  
 Was trodden out by kings from soul and limb, —  
 That with it they might build these monuments  
 To their own glory. — Human soul and sense  
 Was sacrificed to matter — and stones became,  
 Instead of men, the altars of a nation's fame.

“ Myriads of men were melted into brass  
 For Rhodes' Colossus — millions crushed to clay,  
 That Thebes might dazzle through her short-lived day ;  
 O, had these hecatombs of souls — this mass  
 Of living Labor been together welded ! —  
 Had one great mental monument been builded ! —  
 Then had that rescued and united whole  
 Templed creation with a deathless human soul !

“ Nations are built of Men. The mighty frame  
 Of that huge skeleton — a state —  
 Govern we it with priest or potentate —  
 Is evermore the same :  
 Bones, sinews, flesh, and blood of human kind,  
 Moulded together, and made one,  
 By that tremendous charm — the Mind ;  
 And ruled, if ruin it would shun,  
 By one great bond of brotherhood —  
 Swayed for one object — human good ! ”

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11. — *Poems.* By JAMES T. FIELDS. Boston. 1844. 12mo.  
 pp. vi. and 100.

THIS volume contains twenty-nine poetical pieces. We have  
 room only for the following extract, which speaks for itself.

#### EVENTIDE.

##### WRITTEN IN THE COUNTRY.

This cottage door, this gentle gale,  
 Hay-scented, whispering round,  
 Yon path-side rose, that down the vale  
 Breathes incense from the ground,  
 Methinks should from the dullest clod  
 Invite a thankful heart to God.



But, Lord, the violet, bending low,  
Seems better moved to praise ;  
From us, what scanty blessings flow,  
How voiceless close our days :—  
Father, forgive us, and the flowers  
Shall lead in prayer the vesper hours.

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- 12.—*To the Parishioners of Calvary Church.* New York. 1848.  
A Pastoral from the Rector to the Parishioners of Calvary  
Church, New York. 12mo. pp. 24.

THIS is a pastoral letter from the Rev. Samuel L. Southard to his flock. We are acquainted with the author only by means of this little pamphlet. He seems to be a serious, earnest man, desirous of promoting the spiritual welfare of his parishioners ; but it is written in the spirit of the Catholic clergy in the times of Saint Bernard. At the first glance over these pages a liberal and intelligent man will naturally smile at the pretensions to authority set forth by the Rector of Calvary Church ; but soon a sincere man becomes sad at the sight of such pretensions in America, and the middle of the nineteenth century, especially when he remembers that there are thousands who will probably yield willing necks to this priestly domination. He says, (the Italics are not ours,)

"You should look on the ministry as *divinely* appointed to rule over and teach you ; to preach the gospel, 'as this Church hath received the same ;' and give you the means of grace. Not as agents of man, or your agents—supported, but not hired. Never speak against them without compulsion. If you differ from your Pastors in opinion, be content to differ without words. Receive all you can of profit from their ministrations, and be still. If they err in judgment, pray for them. While you remain in a parish, never cause a division of the people. And always remember that more must be yielded to the judgment of your Pastors, than is due to your own ; it is their province ; and theirs is the responsibility."

"The connexion of the clergy and the people in spiritual things is nearer than any relation on earth. There is no tie so near—of friendship or of blood."

"Removals from parish to parish are to be avoided if possible ; never change from whim or caprice : never altogether from taste. . . . In changing your residence, have an eye to proximity to a Church, before all things but health ; and as a general rule go to the Church which is nearest."

"Always, unless from a conscientious excuse, attend service and worship in *your own* parish Church. *Be content* with the services *there*. They will be enough for your soul : more than you will improve. If you fancy you need *more* of nourishment than you receive, apply to *your Priest* ; but never stray off to seek it yourself. You know your own pastures ; but you may eat garlic elsewhere. *Your Shepherd*, whoever in the Providence of God he may be, is the Shepherd *for you*. Itching ears are one of the heaviest judgments of God, and mere curiosity in religious affairs *may be* a sin. Sheep who wander from

pasture to pasture will be cared for by none, and may meet the wolf in the way."

"Never marry one to whom you may be related nearer than the *fifth* degree. Never marry the relations of a deceased wife, in any degree nearer than you are. You should never marry *out of the faith* [i. e. the faith of the Episcopal Church]: *especially a woman*, who, thereby, becomes subject "to the law of her husband," who may keep her away from the Church. Better never to marry than make shipwreck of the faith [i. e. of the belief of the Episcopal Church.]"

"Use hospitality. Be careful to entertain strangers; and especially the ministry of God. A clergyman [i. e. of the Episcopal Church] should never be left at an Inn."

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- 12.—*A Letter of the celebrated John Foster to a young minister, on the duration of Future Punishment: with an introduction and notes, consisting chiefly of extracts from orthodox writers; and an earnest appeal to the American Tract Society in regard to the character of its publications.* Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 120.

THE anonymous author is apparently an able scholar, and writes with the style of a serious and thoughtful man who feels that his words will have effect, as they certainly have weight. He shows, in the first place, that many men otherwise "orthodox," that is more or less Calvinistic, do not believe the doctrine of eternal damnation. He then addresses the American Tract Society, and justly censures that body for publishing books which contain the doctrine in its most odious form.

He shows the power of the Society, by telling of the number of its publications.

"The Society have already issued more than one hundred millions of books and Tracts — of Alleine's *Alarm*, 120,000 copies; Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, and Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion*, each 100,000; of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, 250,000; and in some efforts of late to supply our large cities, 10,000 volumes were circulated in Boston, 10,000 in Charleston, S. C., 17,000 in Philadelphia and vicinity."

"In Boston nearly 2,000 gentlemen circulated by voluntary effort about 10,000 volumes on sale, for which they received \$3,500. In Hartford and New Haven, Conn., about 4,000 volumes each were circulated. In Providence, R. I., nearly 10,000 volumes were sold; in Troy, N. Y., 7,000; in Philadelphia, 18,000; in Charleston, S. C., 10,000, including 400 sets of the *Evangelical Family Library*, amounting to \$3,000; and in Savannah and Augusta, Ga., nearly 4,000 volumes each. More than two hundred pious colporteurs are employed by the Society in conveying these publications to the homes of the people."

"From small beginnings in 1825, the Society's operations have gradually increased, till, in the last year, its receipts for books sold and donations, were more than \$160,000; more than half a million of books and five millions of Tracts were circulated; and 267 colporteurs, including 44 students for vacations, were in commission, in 27 States, for the whole or part of the year — 37 of them among the German, French, Irish, and Norwegian population—who visited 215,000 families, or a twentieth part of our entire population."

Surely such a society must be dangerous to the welfare of the great mass of uneducated persons who read its works.

The Society thus states the agreement of all "the great family of the redeemed" :

"There is a happy agreement among all evangelical Christians regarding the fundamental truths of the Bible. However they may differ as to philosophy and religious order and ordinances, the doctrines of 'Man's native sinfulness; the purity and obligation of the law of God; the true and proper divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; the necessity and reality of his atonement and sacrifice; the efficiency of the Holy Spirit in the work of renovation; the free and full offers of the Gospel, and the duty of man to accept it; the necessity of personal holiness; and an everlasting state of rewards and punishments beyond the grave,' and related truths, are loved alike by the great family of the redeemed, of every name and nation."

The author complains of the character of the works published by the Society; descriptions of torment, and images of pain "have been multiplied and combined, as it were, in an *infernal kaleidoscope*, so as to present images of variegated, picturesque, and transcendent horror." The publication, on so large a scale, of books like "Baxter's Saint's Rest," "Alaine's Alarm," and the like, must be regarded as a national calamity. We could wish that such large resources, and such exemplary skill in their management as belong to this society, were devoted to a better purpose.

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- 13.— *Human Life*: illustrated in my Individual Experience as a Child, a Youth, and a Man. By HENRY CLARKE WRIGHT. 12mo. pp. 414. Boston: Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill. 1849.

THIS book is the work of a true and earnest man, who has a clear idea of the purpose for which he was placed in this world, and who has devoted himself heartily to its accomplishment. Engaged in agricultural and mechanical labor, with scarcely any opportunities for book-learning, until the age of twenty, he then began a course of education for the Orthodox ministry. On entering the Theological Seminary at Andover, he determined to take nothing for granted as true or false, right or wrong, but to doubt on all subjects, rejecting every thing which he should find to rest solely on authority, or to which he could find a reasonable and unanswerable objection. Guided by this principle, he entered upon a course of assiduous and indefatigable study, and soon found himself driven to conclusions widely different, not only from Andover theology, but from the popular opinions in business, literature, and politics, religion, and morality. He seems ever since

to have continued faithful to this idea. His motto is "Institutions for men, not men for Institutions." He regards beneficence to men as the true service or worship of God, and sets at nought all customs, laws, constitutions, and scriptures which examination shows to be at variance with the rights or the welfare of mankind.

The book is intensely interesting, for the same reasons which make the lives of Silvio Pellico and of Blanco White interesting; yet this man is very different from them, and his book from their books. His style is direct and energetic, yet at the same time prolix and repetitious. He seeks to know God and man, shrinks from no investigation and from no conclusion, and makes the freest use of all materials, himself included, in attaining this knowledge. A year hence, he promises a second volume.

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14. — *Two Sermons of the Moral and Spiritual Condition of Boston.* By THEODORE PARKER, &c., &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 74.

IN the first sermon the author considers, 1. the actual state of morals in Boston as indicated by trade and the press, by poverty, intemperance and crime. 2. he compares the morals of the present with former ages, and 3. inquires what can be done to improve the morals of the city. In the second sermon he finds that Religion is in a low condition in Boston, but in a better state than ever before. He cites examples to prove that the present complaint of the "decline of Piety" is not new, but began as early as 1636, and has been regularly continued till the present time. We give below an extract from a sermon of Dr. Increase Mather to the same purpose:

"I know there is a blessed day to the visible church not far off; but it is the judgment of very learned men, that in the glorious times promised to the church on Earth America will be HELL. And altho' there is a number of the Elect of God to be born here, I am verily afraid that, in process of time New England will be the wofullest place in all America, as some other parts of the world, once famous for religion are now the dolefullest on earth, perfect pictures and emblems of Hell. When we see this little Academy (Harvard college, for Dr. Increase Mather was President thereof, and preaching in the college chapel,) fallen to the ground, . . . then know it is a terrible thing which God is about to bring upon this land."



## NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Two Discourses: the Kingdom of the Truth; the Range of Christianity, by A. J. Scott, M. A. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. 48.

Letters on the Development of Religious Life in the modern Christian Church (to be completed in six monthly parts,) by Henry Solly. Part I. Luther & Munzer. Part II. Zwingli & Calvin. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. 11. and 98.

A Letter to the President of Harvard College, by a Member of the Corporation. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 54.

A Plea for Harvard; showing that "the University at Cambridge" was not the name established for this Seminary by the Constitution of Massachusetts, but the name authorized by that instrument was "Harvard University," by an Alumnus. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 30.

Requisites to our Country's Glory. A Discourse delivered . . . at the Annual Election, Wednesday, January 5th, 1849, by John Pierce, D. D., &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 62.

Philosophy of Space and Time. by G. A. Hammett, M. D. Newport, R. I. 1849. 12mo. pp. 40.

Unitarianism and Congregationalism. A Discourse preached at Gloucester, Mass., by A. D. Mayo, Pastor of the Independent Christian Society. Gloucester. 1849. 8vo. pp. 20.

The Claims of Seamen. An Address delivered at the annual meeting of the New Bedford Port Society, . . . by Rev. John Weiss, &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 36.

A Review of the Bishop of Oxford's Counsel to the American Clergy, with Reference to the Institution of Slavery. Also Supplemental Remarks on the Relation of the Wilmot Proviso to the interests of the colored class, by Rev. Philip Berry, &c., &c. Washington. 1848. 12mo. pp. 26.

Embryology of Nemertes. With an Appendix on the embryologic development of Polynoe, by Edward Desor, &c., &c. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 18.

Catalogue of the Pictures . . . of the Old Masters, with a list of the Engravings . . . at the gallery of Lyceum Building, 563 Broadway. 2d Edition. New York. 1849. 8vo. pp. 64.

The Law of Human Progress. An Oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College, Schenectady, July 25th, 1848, by Charles Sumner, &c., &c. Boston. 1849. pp. 48.

An Inquiry into the alleged tendency of the Separation of Convicts one from the other, to produce disease and derangement, by a Citizen of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. 1849. 8vo. pp. 160.

Republication of Essays upon Art, &c., &c. New York. 1849. 8vo. pp. 40.

An Address to the Suffolk North Association of Congregational Ministers, by J. P. Lesley, Minister of the First Evangelical Church, Milton, Mass. With Sermons on the Rule of Faith, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, and the Church. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. 12mo. pp. 130.

A Correct Apprehension of God essential to True Worship: or a View of the Trinity as it stands connected with the whole Gospel Scheme, by Rev. J. N. Tarbox, &c., &c. Boston. 1849.

Pictures and Painters; Essays upon Art; The Old Masters; and Modern Artists. New York. 1849. 12mo.

Poems. By James T. Fields. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. vi. and 100.

The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations; an Essay towards the natural history of the Soul, as the true basis of Theology. By Francis William Newman, &c. &c. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. xii. and 222.

The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology. Edited by Forbes Winslow, M. D. Vol. I. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. vi. and 662. Appended to it is a Monograph I. On the cerebral diseases of children, with regard to their early manifestations and treatment. By Walter C. Drury, Esq. &c. &c. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. 42.

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, by Henry D. Thoreau. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 414.

Ten Discourses on Orthodoxy, by Joseph Henry Allen, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. viii and 228.

Ursache und Geschichte der Octoberereignitze zu Wien, von einem Augenzeugen. Leipzig. 1849. 8vo. pp. 36.

Ueber Schwärmerei. Historisch-philosophische Betrachtungen mit Rücksicht auf die jetzige Zeit von J. H. von Wessenberg, &c., &c. Heilbronn. 1848. 8vo. pp. viii. and 554.

Hamâsa oder die ältesten arabischen Volkslieder, gesammelt von Abu Temâm, übersetzt und erläutert von Friedrich Rückert. Stuttgart. 1846. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 428 and 398.

